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THE PROLETARIAN REVOLT.

A HISTORY
OF
THE PARIS COMMUNE
OF 1871.

BY
G. B. BENHAM.

“War is immoral, yet we fight.”—*Raoul Rigault.*

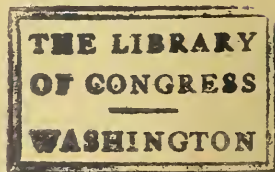
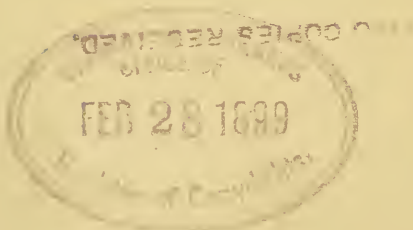
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INTRODUCTION.

Most of the historians of the Commune have said very little concerning the situation of affairs which gave birth to this extraordinary uprising. It is true that some of them have recognized its essentially proletarian character, but few have connected the Commune with the long series of events which led up to it. These authors have seen in the Paris revolution merely an outbreak of the turbulent members of society, discontented without reason and engaged in hopeless rebellion against the position in life to which ignorance and incapacity had consigned them. Many writers upon this subject, unable to divest themselves of their prejudices, and striving rather to give a popular than a just description of this revolt, have declared the aspirations of the French proletariat to have been compounded of folly and iniquity, leading, on this occasion, to an attempt to destroy the foundations of society and inaugurate a reign of lawlessness and disorder. Contentedly believing all things old to be good and all usages established to be necessary, these writers have taken but little notice of the developments in industrial and political economy, or of the increasing intelligence of the workers and their consequent realization of their changed condition.

It would be necessary to trace the history of the evolution of capitalist production, and to review the political and literary progress of modern civilization, to recount in detail all the

causes which led to this great uprising. It will be sufficient here to indicate the principal historical events which have logical connection with the Commune.

The presence of that spirit of inquiry and of secular progress, which, during the preceding four centuries had developed civilization, made possible the American and French revolutions. In them was signalized the advance of political democracy and the decline of absolutism, monarchical and religious. That surrounding economic conditions continually fostered discontent, accelerated the intellectual advance and raised the Democratic aspirations of the proletariat, is evidenced in the doctrines promulgated advocating a more equitable distribution of natural resources and industrial products, by a political rearrangement of society. The uncertainties caused by the swift changes in their industrial condition, together with the dissipation of the religious credulity of the past, produced among the workers in all civilized nations such independent thought and far-reaching desires as to dismay the foremost in the ranks of those striving for a mere political democracy. The conquest of science and invention reacted upon the moral and intellectual growth of the time. Not content with the surrender of divine prerogatives of domination by kings and ecclesiastics, this new movement demanded the abrogation of the political supremacy which has its basis in the private ownership and control of the social powers of production.

During the revolutions of 1848, which shook nearly every throne in Europe, almost the first indications of distinct working-class political activity are to be recognized. In every quarter of Europe

the Red Spectre of Communism stalked before the astonished eyes of the middle-class, who had intended to secure by these revolts which they had initiated, merely constitutional government, freedom of the press, of speech and the supremacy of commercial interests. Frightened by this unexpected apparition, the bourgeoisie quickly made terms with the defenders of monarchical and aristocratic privileges, sacrificing many of their reforms in the interests of "public order."

While the authorities were engaged in suppressing these uprisings, working-class representatives from various countries met at London and issued the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The ideas enunciated by this programme spread among the workers in every civilized land, and the influence of the manifesto was soon to be traced in all the working-class agitation of the time.* Vigorous as were the efforts of governments and their commercial and clerical allies to prevent speakers and writers from spreading the new doctrines, it was only in the suppression of speech that the authorities were measurably successful. But the progress of ideas keeps pace with social development. Publications poured from secret presses and were widely circulated among the "lower orders of society."

In 1864, the International Workingmen's Association was founded. The purpose of the organization, as stated by its founders, was to "weld into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America." This Association flourished.

* Previous to 1888, the text had been reprinted many times in Switzerland, England, America and France. Two editions in Russian were printed in Geneva, one by Bakounine [1864], and one by Vera Zasulitch [1882]. It has been published in Danish and Spanish several times and once in Armenian. Its circulation has been enormous.

It was the most prominent and formidable workingmen's society of its day, and was the first recognition of the complete identity of the workers' interests in all civilized countries.* In France it grew rapidly, and the most intelligent and advanced of the proletariat became its members.

The most superficial acquaintance with the progress of industrial development, and the consequent revolution in the conditions of existence of vast masses in society, should convince anyone that an organized attempt to establish a social democratic autonomy was sure, sooner or later, somewhere, to be made; the peculiar situation of

*Permanent statutes adopted at its first meeting, London, 1864, and confirmed at its Geneva congress in 1866:

"In consideration that the emancipation of the laboring classes must be accomplished by the laboring classes, that the battle for the emancipation of the laboring classes does not signify a battle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of class rule;

"That the economic dependence of the laboring man upon the monopolist of the implements of work, the sources of life, forms the basis of every kind of servitude, of social misery, of spiritual degradation, and political dependence;

"That, therefore, the economic emancipation of the laboring classes is the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a simple auxiliary;

"That all exertions which, up to this time, have been directed towards the attainment of this end, have failed on account of the want of solidarity between the various branches of labor in every land, and by reason of the absence of a brotherly bond of unity between the laboring classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social, problem, which embraces all countries in which modern society exists, and whose solution depends upon the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced lands;

"That the present awakening of the laboring classes in the industrial lands of Europe gives occasion for new hope, but at the same time contains a solemn warning not to fall back into old errors, and demands an immediate union of the movements not yet united;

"——, in consideration of all these circumstances, the first International Labor Congress declares that the International Workingmen's Association, and all societies and individuals belonging to it, recognize truth, right, and morality as the basis of their conduct towards one another and their fellow-men, without respect to color, creed, or nationality. This congress regards it as the duty of man to demand the rights of a man and citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

Paris and of France in 1871, seemed to the workers to supply the necessary conditions for such an attempt. The traditions which the French people had inherited from the great revolution of 1789, no doubt influenced many of the partisans of the Commune. The belief, too, that there was a scheme on foot in the Assembly to restore the Orleanists, prompted many of the advanced Republicans to join in the movement. But the tens of thousands of National Guards, made up exclusively of workingmen, under the control of an elected body composed almost entirely of workingmen, stamp the uprising with an indubitably proletarian character. Its significance can hardly be overestimated. It was a skirmish of the forces which will meet in greater actions on broader fields. Its history is that of the greatest revolt of "free" workers the world has ever seen.

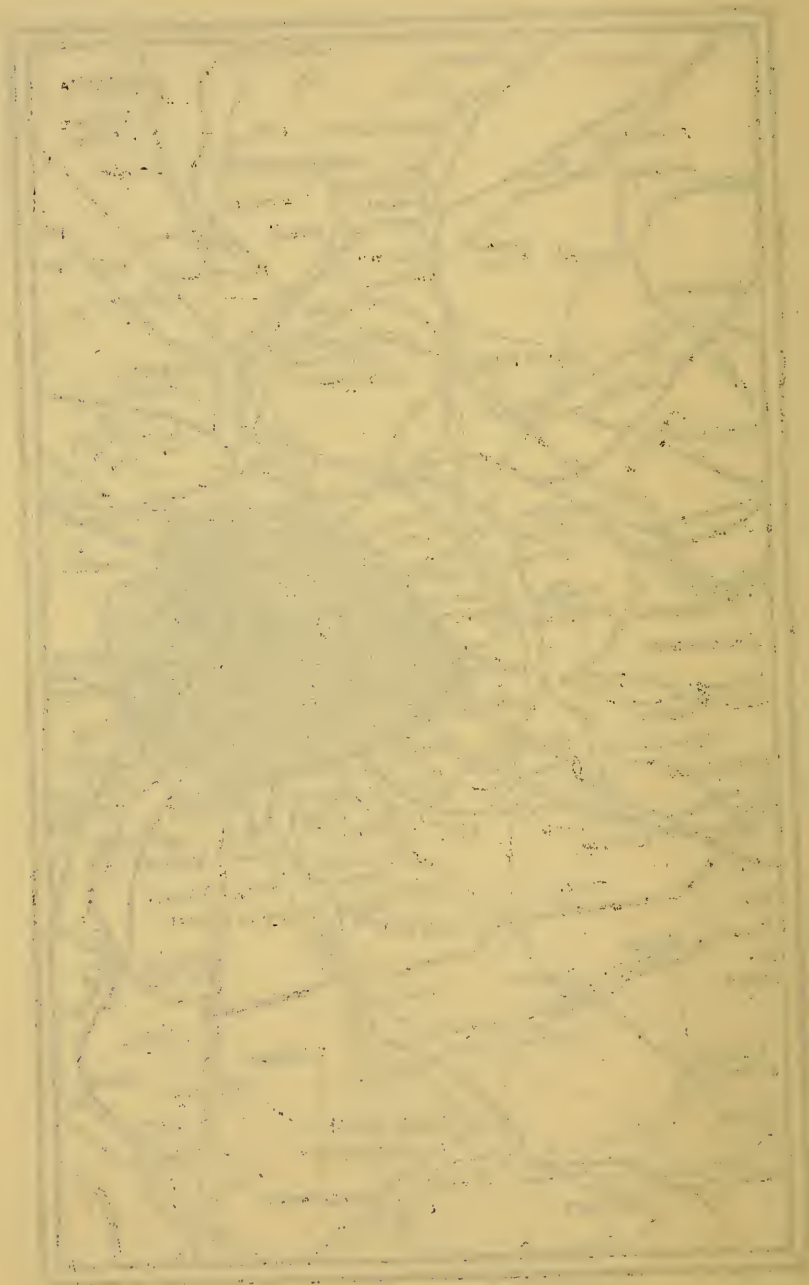
In consideration of the almost world-wide unrest among the wage-working class, and the tremendous growth of social democratic opinion, it is believed that a just survey of the incidents of such a movement and an attempt to portray its significance will be acceptable to all inclined to investigate the social problems of the age.

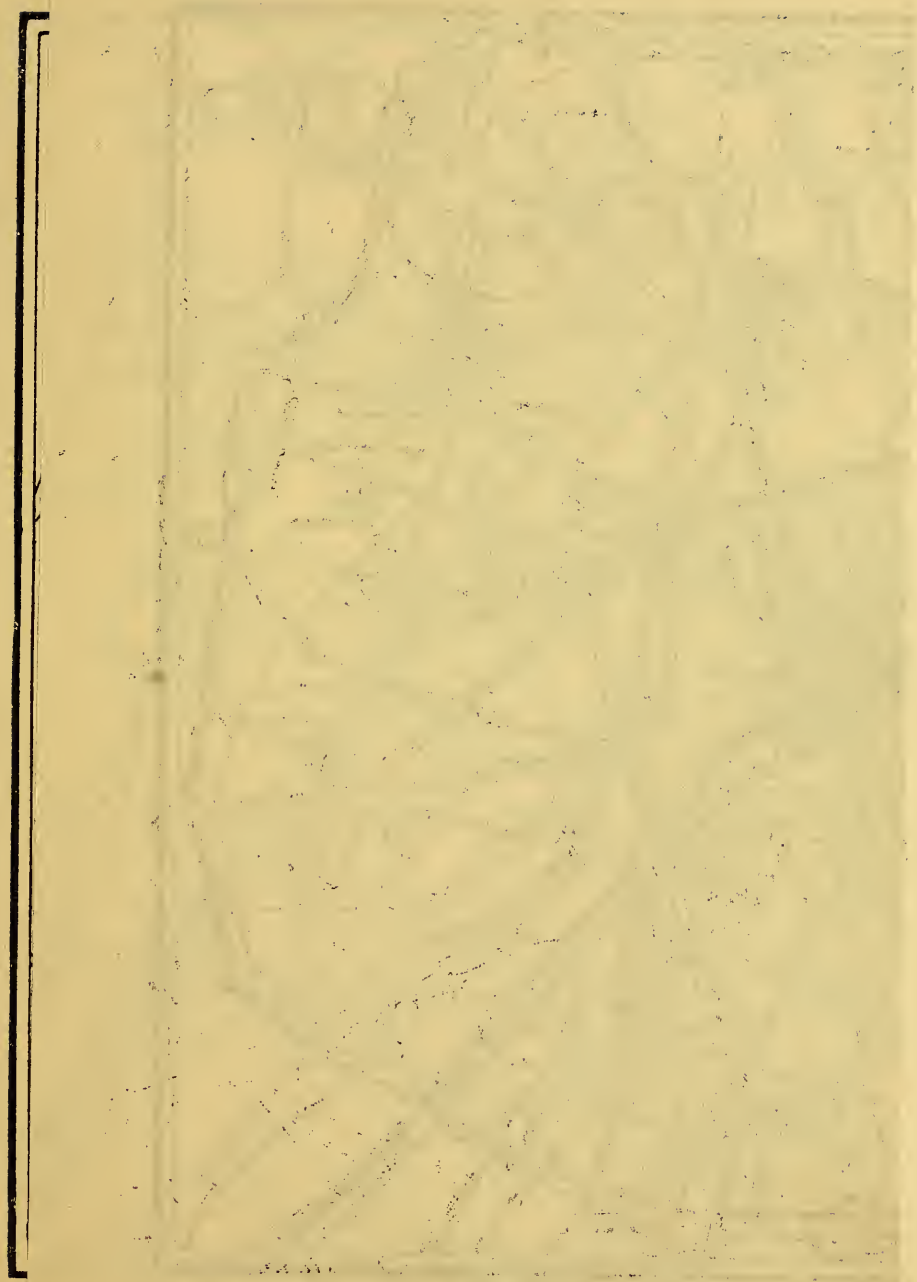
This volume is therefore submitted to the public with the consciousness that the facts ascertainable have been fairly presented, and it is hoped in a manner which will, to some extent, correct the many popular misconceptions regarding the acts, the interests and the personnel of the Commune.

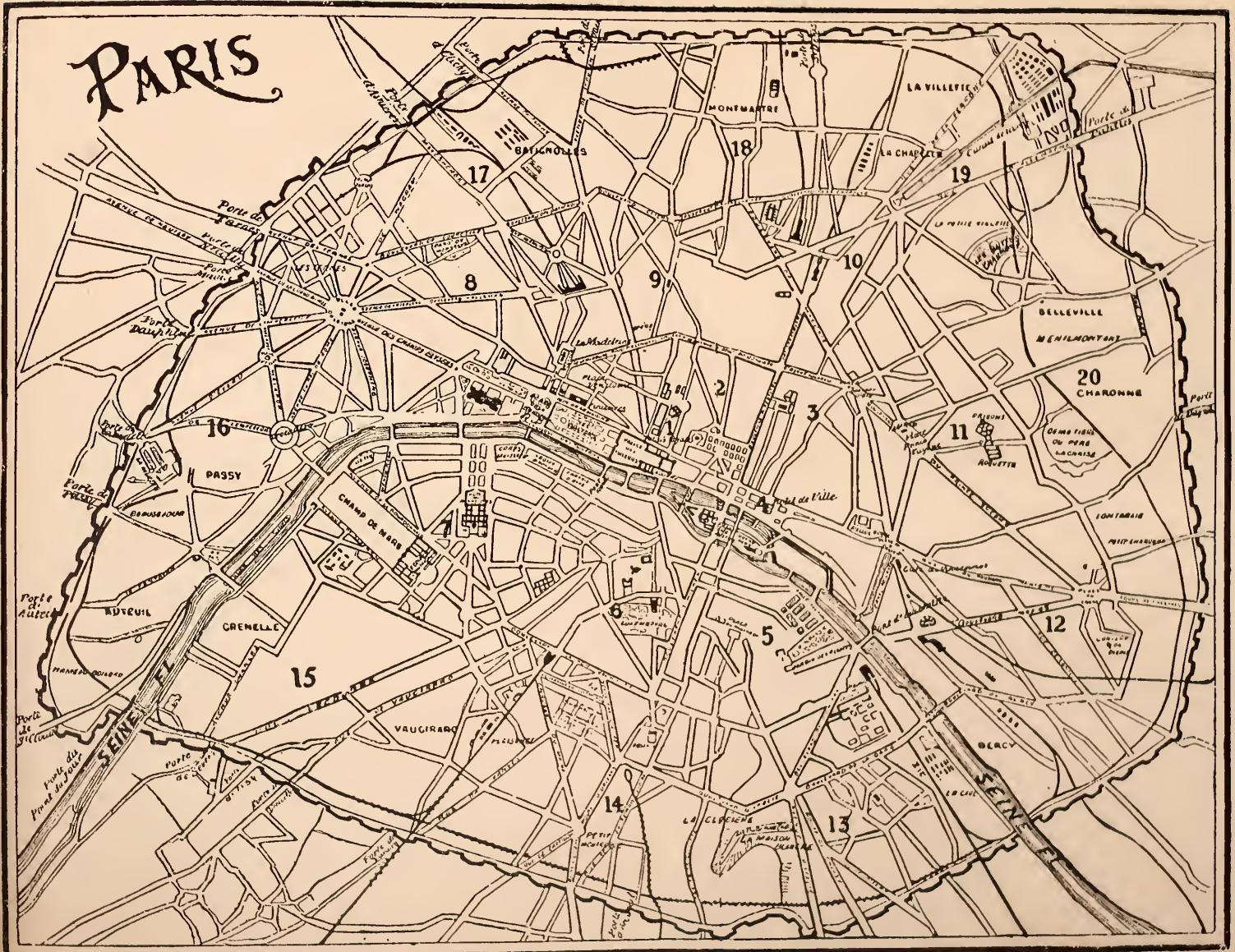
G. B. BENHAM.

San Francisco, January, 1898.



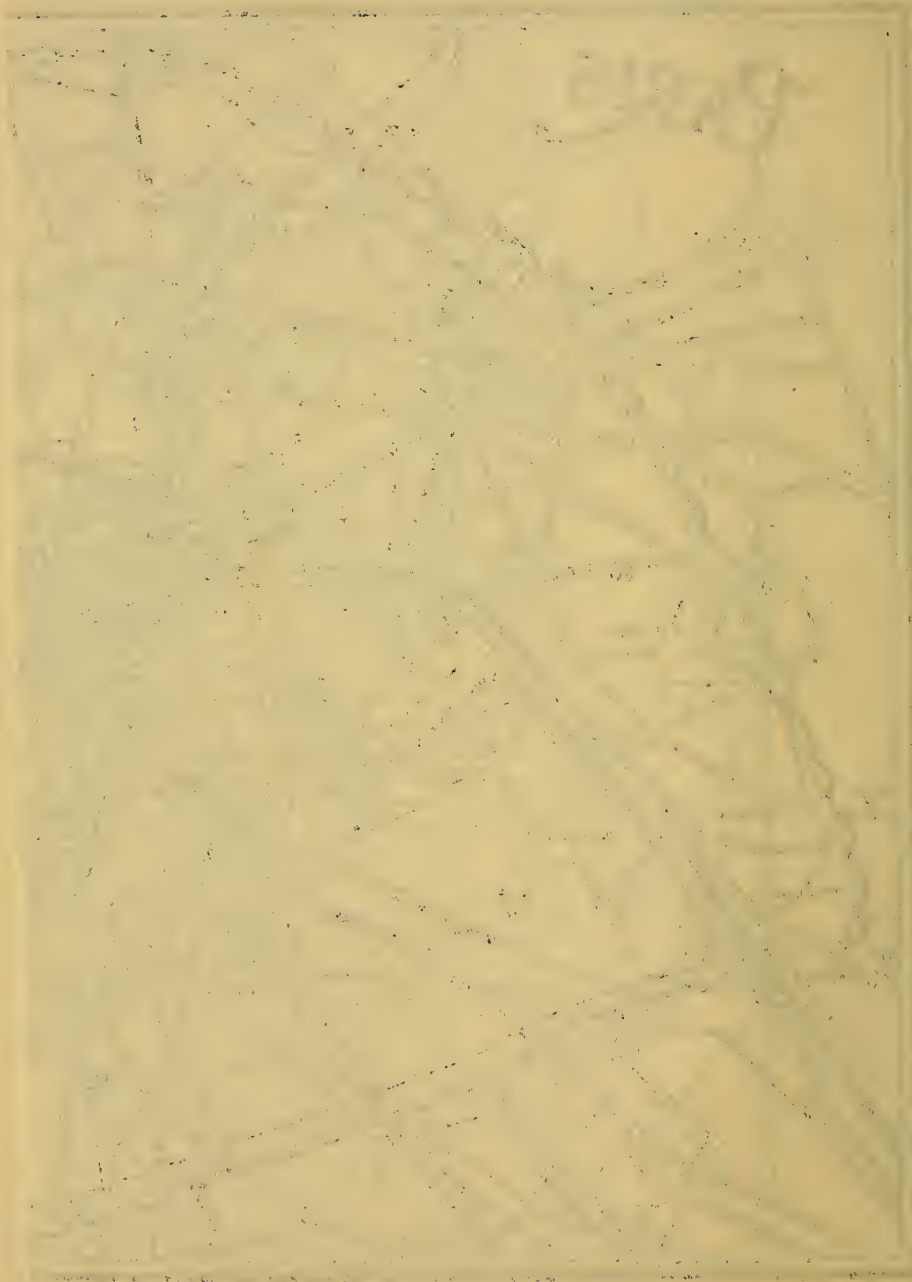






The Figures denote the Arrondissements into which Paris is divided.

1849



I.

France and The Second Empire.

The France that the Revolution of 1789-96 produced was one in which "neither the upper nor lower crust could long endure." Feudalism had held a longer sway there than in England, and the constitution which was a heritage from the days of Danton could not form a lasting basis of governmental action. The progress to the revolution of 1830 developed the working class as a conscious social factor, and here first appeared, in somewhat vague form, the proletarian movement for what is now known as Socialism. This Revolution of 1830 was a middle-class affair, but so determined were the proletarians and so desperately did they defend the barricades that they distinguished themselves from the bourgeoisie whose initiative they had followed. This was repeated on a larger scale in 1848, and the workingmen, to further differentiate themselves, took up the red flag as their banner, an act which gained for them the name of Red Republicans.* One of the results of the displacement of Royalty in 1848 was the elevation of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte to the presidency of the newly constituted French Republic. He was elected by an immense popular majority. The circumstances of "coup d'etat," by which he became Emperor, are too well known to be related here.

*Before the middle of June, 1848, the assembly issued a decree dissolving the national workshops. Forty thousand men took to the barricades to the

The International Workingmen's Association became a prominent factor in politics during the Second Empire. The various political parties, from Orleanists to Communists, for several years preceding 1870, viewed with much the same complacency the too evident decadence of the Empire. All classes in society were restless. The Orleanists hoped for a restoration to power. The workingmen had received little and had nothing to hope for in a continuation of the Napoleonic regime. Various events of more or less importance had made the Emperor unpopular; his warlike ventures had not raised the military prestige of France; his cousin, Pierre Bonaparte, was simply fined \$5000 for the murder of citizen Victor Noir. Gigantic schemes of fraudulent speculation, countenanced and fostered by those in high places, absorbed the earnings and savings of the people and involved thousands in ruin. Judicial tribunals were debauched and the public officials rioted in corruption and extravagance.†

It became necessary to divert the public mind from the rottenness of the government. In order to do this, and with the hope of re-establishing confidence in the Empire, a war with Germany was resolved upon. A pretext was found in the claim of a Prussian prince to the succession of the

ery of "bread or death." Eight thousand were killed in the fight, double that number were taken prisoners, three thousand of whom were afterwards shot in cold blood. * * * * *

The *Patnae*, an organ of the government, spoke in these terms:—"We are surrounded by *cannibals*. If they remain in their *lair* they must be extinguished; if they come out they must be *cut to pieces*." M. Montelevant, the great Ultramontanest, declared in the assembly, that, "It is necessary to undertake against socialism a Roman expedition at home. . . . There only remains for us war—war carried on energetically and by every means." M. Thiers declared the constitution giving manhood suffrage "a vile bit of rag." During 1850, the constitution was revised, manhood suffrage destroyed, and over four millions of workmen disfranchised.—*Sketchley*.

†Thiers, renewing his tortuous cunning and servile skillfulness, sought to profit by all the Imperial mistakes.—*Lockwood*

throne of Spain. The national spirit was aroused, and the dissatisfied people became eager for hostilities. France sent into the field soldiers in abundance, but inefficiently disciplined, and officered by men whose tactics are a mystery, and whose operations were almost wholly unsuccessful. The French armies won but one important battle; the Germans added victory to victory on French soil until Sedan fell. Another series of victories brought them to the gates of Paris. The French troops had scarcely delayed their march.

Napoleon III aspired to imitate the first Emperor, but the Second Empire will only be contemplated in pity for its victim, the French nation.*

As the International Workingmen's Association was a prominent element in the Commune, it may be well here to record its position regarding the war between Germany and France.

In the *Reveil* of July 12th, 1870, was published a manifesto "to the Workmen of all Nations," from which we extract the following few passages:—

"Once more," says this document, "on the pretext of European equilibrium, of national honour, the peace of the world is menaced by political ambitions. French, German, Spanish workmen! let our voices unite in one cry of reprobation against war! . . . War for a question of preponderance or a dynasty, can, in the eyes of workmen, be nothing but a criminal absurdity. In answer to the war-like proclamations of those who exempt themselves from the blood-tax, and find in public

*The rascality of ministers, the unskillfulness and treason of generals, the shame of Sedan and Metz, the tortures of the siege of Paris, and the disgraceful capitulation which followed the infamies of Boreaux and Versailles made up the closing scenes of the Second Empire.—*Lockwood*.

misfortunes a source of fresh speculations, we protest, we who want peace, labor, and liberty! . . . Brothers of Germany! Our division would only result in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine. . . . Workmen of all countries! Whatever may for the present become of our common efforts, we, the members of the International Workingmen's Association, who know of no frontiers, we send you, as a pledge of indissoluble solidarity, the good wishes and salutations of the workmen of France."

This manifesto of the Paris section was followed by numerous similar French addresses, of which we can here only quote the declaration of Neuilly-sur-Seine, published in the *Marseillaise* of July 22nd:—"The war, is it just? No! The war, is it national? No! It is merely Dynastic. In the name of humanity, of democracy, and the true interests of France, we adhere completely and energetically to the protestation of the International against the war."

The German workmen of many cities replied in like sentiments.

A mass meeting of workmen, held at Brunswick on July 16th, expressed its full concurrence with the Paris manifesto, spurned the idea of national antagonism to France, and wound up its resolutions with these words:—"We are enemies of all wars, but above all of dynastic wars. . . . With deep sorrow and grief we are forced to undergo a defensive war as an unavoidable evil; but we call, at the same time upon the whole German working-class to render the recurrence of such an immense social misfortune impossible by vindicating for the peoples themselves the power

to decide on peace and war, and making them masters of their own destinies."

At Chemnitz, a meeting of delegates, representing 50,000 Saxon workmen, adopted unanimously a resolution to this effect:—"In the name of the German Democracy, and especially of the workmen forming the Democratic Socialist Party, we declare the present war to be exclusively dynastic. . . . We are happy to grasp the fraternal hand stretched out to us by the workmen of France. . . . Mindful of the watchword of the International Workingmen's Associations: *Proletarians of all countries unite*, we shall never forget that the workmen of *all* countries are our *friends* and the despots of *all* countries our *enemies*."

The Berlin branch of the International also replied to the Paris manifesto:—"We," they say, "join with heart and hand your protestation. . . . Solemnly we promise that neither the sound of the trumpet, nor the roar of the cannon, neither victory nor defeat, shall divert us from our common work for the union of the children of toil of all countries."

II.

Paris—September 20 to March 1.

Paris, in 1870, was a city of almost 2,000,000 inhabitants, and, as to-day, the gayest and most fashionable capital in the world.* The city is built on both sides of the river Seine, whose islands formed the nucleus of the metropolis. It is elliptical in shape, environed by numerous villages and by thickly-settled country. The city is surrounded by a fortified wall, 21 miles in internal circumference, encircling an area of 30 square miles. Detached forts, 16 in number, guarded the approach to the line of fortifications. Fort Valerien, the largest and most advantageously situated, being on the west of the ellipse formed by Forts Issy, Vânvès, Montrouge, Bicêtre and Ivry, these five lying to the south of the city.

The fall of Sedan on September 1st was not made known to the Parisians until September 3. The authorities were justly condemned for holding back the news, and their pusillanimity aroused the citizens, who, on September 4th, ousted the corpse of Imperialism, and there was at the Hotel de Ville immediately instituted that incarnation of plans and inaction, the self-constituted Government

*The ancient Lutetia Parisorum; historically noticed by Cæsar in "Commentaries" fifty years B. C.; originally the chief settlement of the Parisii, a Gallic tribe conquered by the Romans. Population in 1869, 1,875,000. Paris has 20 arrondissements, each having a Mayor and two councillors. The Prefect of the Seine, appointed by the government, is the chief city official; sometimes referred to as Central Mayor or Mayor of Paris.

of the National Defence. The members of the deposed house of deputies, elected under Napoleon III, seized the reins of power, and at once took on themselves all functions of government. General Trochu, commandant of Paris, refused to have anything to do with the new government unless he was made its head. Fearing his influence with the military, he was made Governor of Paris and Commander-in-Chief of the armies. M. Thiers refused to be placed in any position in this government, which was dependent on the caprice of an excited populace. He had sometime before distinguished himself by referring to the people as "vile multitude."* Jules Favre, an orator of advanced years, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs. Leon Gambetta became Minister of the Interior. Etienne Arago was appointed Central Mayor, and made a speech in which it was apparent that he considered the Commune established.**

"The first step taken by the new government was to send Thiers on a roving tour to all the Courts of Europe there to beg mediation by offering the barter of the Republic for a king."† An order was issued for the release of all political prisoners, which set at liberty Henri

*Thiers, holding himself in reserve to participate in the intrigues, which he saw a vast field for.—*Lockwood*.

**Many who use the word commune glibly have a very imperfect understanding of its significance, and little imagine that it is as harmless and innocent a word as township, and means pretty much the same thing. The commune, with an emphasis on the article, means simply Paris, or, in a secondary sense, the administrative officers collectively governing Paris. France is divided into departments and communes, the same as our states are divided into counties and townships, and Paris by itself forms one of these communes. The insurrection in Paris, of March 18, 1871, was one in favor of extreme local self-government. The idea was to make each commune at least as independent as one of the states of the United States, and to unite all the communes into a confederation with limited powers. The movement in favor of the autonomy of Paris is an old one, and has been supported by many able and respectable Frenchmen. One in favor of the movement is, however, properly called a communalist, and not a communist, and the movement itself is communalism—not communism.—*Richard T. Ely*.

†Address of Int. W. A.

Rochefort, Gustave Flourens, Cluseret, Delescluze, Grousset, Vermorel and Eudes; also Mégy and the others concerned in the bomb plot.*

Raoul Rigault, a young law student of revolutionary tendencies, established himself as head of the police department, where he continued for some time, the government not daring to depose him, for fear of antagonizing the radicals. More puerile conduct, in all respects is difficult to imagine than that of this singularly established government.

Public meetings were addressed by Socialists and members of the International in all districts of the city. A demand was made on the government for an election. A Committee Central was chosen from the arrondissements; the method of choice was as follows: in each of the 20 arrondissements a meeting was held; a Committee of Vigilance was elected by acclamation, and from this body four were selected from each arrondissement, making a Committee Central composed of 80 members, which at once made its headquarters at the headquarters of the International.

Paris had undergone a dozen sieges, was now well provisioned, and, with the constant addition of detachments driven in by the Germans, in condition to support a long and vigorous defence. The Parisians were vexed and mortified by the misfortunes of the French arms. In the belief that the Germans could not sustain the attacks from without and the arduous labors of so

*Mégy had been sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for killing an officer who had unlawfully attempted to arrest him for participating in what was known as the "Complot of Bombs," a plot to overthrow by force the Napoleonic Government. In this affair there was also convicted and sentenced to shorter terms of imprisonment; Ferre, law student, Courmet, journalist and Moilen, physician. Protot, lawyer, also accused, was by influence released, and defended the others when they were on trial for taking part in the plot.

great an offensive undertaking, upon the subsistence that could be brought to or acquired in a hostile country, the inhabitants of the capital believed their situation secure. There were about 500,000 men under arms in the city.

On September 20th, the siege began. It is now conceded that the fall of the city was acknowledged to be but a matter of time by General Trochu.* Leon Gambetta was sent out of the city in a balloon, to rouse the country to the support of Paris, and his efforts were not unsuccessful. Trochu had "plans" which were not operative. The troops sent against the Germans from the outside were not supported by the city's defenders. The populace was incensed at the tardy tactics and timorous endeavors of the Government of the National Defence. The radicals wanted a Commune; the bourgeoisie were content with any form of control which would make a resistance adequate to the armament and ability of the city. The defence was understood to be a farce, and so expressed in the correspondence of those high in official position in the government. Bismarck afterward said of Trochu: "If he was a German general, I should have him shot."

*Four months after the siege began, Trochu, in the presence of his colleagues, addressed the assembled Mayors of Paris. He said "The first question put to me by my colleagues on the very evening of September 4th was this: Paris, can it, with any chance of success stand a siege by the Prussian army? I did not hesitate to answer in the negative. Some of my colleagues here present will warrant the truth of my words and the persistence of my opinion. * * * I told them the attempt of Paris to hold out would be a folly. * * * an heroic folly."

In a letter to Gambetta, M. Favre avows that what they were "defending" against was not the Prussian soldiers, but the workingmen of Paris. During the whole continuance of the siege the Bonapartist * * * whom Trochu had wisely intrusted with the command of the Paris army, exchanged, in their intimate correspondence, jokes at the well-understood mockery of defence (see, for instance, the correspondence of Alphonse Simon Guéod, supreme commander of the artillery of the Army of Defence of Paris and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor, to Suzanne, general of division of artillery, a correspondence published by the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune.)

Mixed factions of workers and bourgeoisie nearly obtained control of the city October 31st. Flourens, Delescluze, and Blanqui were the leaders of the movement. Some members of the government were taken prisoners; but many of the bourgeois battalions of the Guard supported the government, and, not desiring an internal war in the besieged city, the insurrectionists released their prisoners, and retired, under the express agreement that no action was to be taken against any of the participants in the uprising. By a plebiscite November 3d the government was retained in power; feeling secure, it immediately issued warrants for the apprehension of the leaders in the affair of October 31st, although it had been pledged to take no action against any concerned. This brought the condemnation of all fair-minded people upon the administration. Arago, the Mayor, at once resigned, and Jules Ferry, a lawyer, was appointed to succeed him.

On January 6th, red placards were posted in the city condemning the government and demanding the election of a Commune. These were signed by the representatives of the arrondissements, among the signatures were between thirty and forty names of those afterward active in the work of the Commune. January 19th, in response to the demands for the government to "do something," a sortie of 85,000 troops was made, which seemed likely to be successful in the morning, but was mismanaged and failed in the afternoon. A council of the governmental and city officials was held on January 20th, and declared further resistance useless; Trochu was displaced and General Vinoy put in command, but the essential character of the "defence" remained the same.

On January 22d, there was an uprising, supported by a large force of the Guards. The seat of government, the Hotel de Ville, was defended by the Mobiles. The latter opened fire, it is said on the order of Gustave Chaudey, one of the Mayor's deputies; the Guards returned the fire; in all 30 were killed and many wounded; the authorities took some prisoners and insurgents were repulsed.

An order was written on January 27th, by Brunel, colonel of regiment in the Guards and Piazza, commandant of battalions, for an assembling of the National Guard, the overthrow of the commanders of the forts and their occupation by the Guards, who were to hold them at all hazards against the Germans. To deliver the forts seemed to the Parisians the delivering of the city, to which they were unalterably opposed. But few Guards were at the rendezvous; the Prefect of Police obtained possession of the order, and Piazza and Brunel were imprisoned to await a military court trial.

The German flag was hoisted on the forts on January 29th. An armistice was agreed upon and an election to be held February 8th. What was termed an "armistice" was in reality the surrender of Paris. The object was specifically stated to be "to permit the Government of the National Defence of France to convoke an assembly, freely elected, which will pronounce on the question whether war shall be continued, or what terms of peace shall be made."*

The terms were mortifyingly humiliating to the Parisians. The city was virtually starved into the acceptance of them. Dogs, cats and rats were used as food and had high market prices. Jules Favre, in his negotiation with Bismarck, stipulated

*Harper's Magazine, March, 1871.

for the retention of their arms by the National Guards, who were to be "charged with the preservation of the peace of Paris."*

That the National Guards were allowed to retain their arms was not to preserve order in Paris, but because the government did not dare attempt the disarmament. There was a sullen disapproval of the terms of the armistice throughout the entire country, and in Paris in particular. The Guard, it was safe to believe, would resist, ostensibly from patriotic motives, the disarmament. As a matter of fact, the Socialists, Communists, Internationals, and ultra-Republican leaders had the National Guard's ear, and this, with the other circumstances surrounding their probable condition after disbandment, made the Guards an uncertain factor in the government's calculations. The National Guard was almost entirely made up of workingmen; they saw Orleanists, Imperialists and Clericals, all of whom they recognized as enemies, conniving at the terms of surrender. Arrears of rent had accumulated against the Guardsmen while they served the state at about 30 cents a day. Building and other industries were almost entirely suspended. This condition precluded the possibility of a return to labor by members of the Guard should it be disbanded. They were incensed at the suggestion of disarmament.

Gambetta protested against the armistice; sent out a proclamation on his own responsibility, clamoring for a continuation of war, and almost overturned the arrangements. But the government annulled his proclamation, although there was a delay of twenty-four hours in revictualling the city. The

*"Then was committed the crowning error of leaving armed a National Guard, a large portion of which was the refuse of France and the scum of different European countries."—*Petridge*.

conduct of his colleagues so exasperated Gambetta that he resigned as Minister of the Interior.* It is stated that more than 125,000 persons left Paris between January 29th and the day of election.

An officer of the National Guard, soon after the armistice began, passed the French lines and fired his pistol at a Prussian sentinel. The officer was arrested and imprisoned by the Germans. Two Germans were arrested in Paris by the Guard, and sentenced to death by the Central Committee. The Prussian military authorities demanded the release of the condemned men. The Guard finally gave up the two men on agreement that their officer should be released. To this the French authorities agreed, but the Germans held that the officer should be tried by court martial and shot if found guilty. Thiers was bitterly denounced by the exasperated Guards, who claimed they had been tricked by the government.

The free elections of this Assembly were held upon a notice of only eight days, which barely reached some of the provinces on the eve of election. Thiers made an electioneering tour and was chosen as deputy in twenty-six districts.

Paris elected many radicals.—Delescluze, Pyat, Rochefort, Milliére, Gambon, Malon, Tridon, Tolain and Vésinier.† Varlin and Cluseret were defeated candidates. The rural districts sent Orleanists and Clericals, and some Republicans came from the cities. In session at Bordeaux, M. Grèvy was, February 16th, almost unanimously elected President of the newly formed Assembly; Adolphe Thiers, on February 17th, was chosen,

*... A resistance was organized by Gambetta, at the head of a stock-jobbing clique, whose interests, both commercial and political, forbade them to let the war die out, lest they should find themselves face to face with a people determined to be fleeced no longer.—*William Morris and E. Belfort Bax.*

†Vesinier had been Secretary to Eugene Sue.

by the Assembly, as President of the French Republic.

There was an evident desire on the part of this Assembly to take upon itself general governmental functions in addition to the special duty for which it had been elected.*

General Vinoy had disarmed 250,000 men on February 9th, thus billeting upon Paris and vicinity a huge number of men without pay and, under the existing disturbances, without hope of employment; 12,000 men retained their arms to "protect the peace of Paris."

The latter part of February saw the Paris military formulating plans, and an arrangement was made to protect their interests. There were 20 Councils of Legion, one in each arrondissement, each Council composed of four representatives from each battalion. Every Council of Legion sent four representatives to form a Central Directorate, which was to be the governing military power. All representatives to be elected by the Guards. A few battalions refused to join. The Directorate took the name of "The Central Committee of the National Guard." This Committee superseded in power, and largely in personnel, the committee elected from the arrondissements in the previous autumn.

M. Favre was the most fervent of the public men in his protestations against surrendering on the terms of the Prussians, declaring, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, that the Government of National Defence would never "surrender an inch of territory or a stone of a fortress." Bismarck and Thiers,

*Ex-Emperor Napoleon addressed the Assembly calling their attention to the specific purpose for which they had been elected and their consequent usurpation of power in continuing as a general representative body for the Republic.—*Harper's Magazine*, April, 1871.

on February 26th, signed the peace treaty at Versailles. Paris was turned over to the Germans, and two of France's richest provinces—Alsace and Lorraine—went to the victors. A war indemnity of \$100,000,000 was agreed upon, and there were many other exacting stipulations in the treaty.

On February 27th, Brunel, Piazza and Vermorel, imprisoned for political offenses, were released by the National Guards, who captured the prison; the Guards were becoming very active in opposition to the Assembly, which was a source of irritation to the Parisians because of its decision for peace.

Immediately preceding the entry of the Germans into the city, some cannon were stored by General Vinoy near the quarters to be occupied by the conquerors. Being afraid of seeing them fall into the hands of the invaders, and possibly turned against the citizens, the National Guard and the populace transferred the guns to positions of importance in the city, principally Montmartre, Belleville, Buttes Chaumont and La Villette. Edouard Moreau, an active member of the Committee Central, was foremost in directing these operations.

The guns were furnished by subscriptions of the National Guard,* and in the articles of peace were recognized as the property of the Guard, but Thiers, when expediency furnished a pretext, demanded the cannon as "the property of the nation."

A committee was appointed from the National Guard to take charge of the defence of Montmartre.

*Address Int. W. A.

III.

March, Montmartre and The Commune.

The terms of peace agreed to by Thiers were ratified by a vote of 546 for to 107 against in the Assembly at Bordeaux on March 1st. It was also decided to strip Paris of her position of capital and curb her republican tendencies. The pay of the guards was withheld. Many of the Paris deputies, feeling insulted by these acts of the Assembly, returned to the metropolis.

At 11 o'clock on March 1st the German troops commenced their entry into Paris; in a few hours 30,000 of them occupied the quarters agreed upon. They were received with opprobrious epithets by some of the populace; but few people were on the streets; the theaters suspended their performances; mourning was hung on many houses; business places were closed in the parts of city occupied by the invaders. The German troops retired from Paris on the 3d, joining about 50,000 Germans who occupied the forts on the north of the city.

The higher officers of the Guards formed a committee which amalgamated with the elected Committee Central of the Guard. The military forces in Paris now decided upon a closer alliance. The Federals and the National Guard formed "The Republican Federation." The forces in Paris will hereafter be designated generally as Federates,

which includes Mobiles, (reserves) Franc-tireurs (irregulars) and many regulars, (soldiers of the line) who now allied themselves with the National Guard. The Central Committee at this time received as members, four delegates especially deputed from the International Workingmen's Association. Several members of the latter had been before this time elected from the Guards to the Committee; all officers higher than chiefs of battalion were also recognized as members of the Central Committee.

The Assembly appointed officers for the Parisian military; the latter declared their intention of obeying no officers not elected by themselves. On March 7th the reserves in all districts outside the city were disbanded. On March 11th the government suspended five papers edited respectively by Rochefort, Jules Vallés, Felix Pyat, Vermesch and Humbert, Paschal Grousset, and one other edited anonymously. These papers had vigorously and truthfully attacked the government for its unfriendly attitude toward Paris. The trial by military court of those who were prominent in the affairs of October 31st and January 22d now came on. The accused were acquitted, with two exceptions—Blanqui and Flourens—who were sentenced to death. Flourens was at liberty in a quarter of the city which protected him; Blanqui was ill, but was put under arrest at once. Both of the condemned men issued proclamations calling on the citizens to unite to establish a government of the people.

Flourens and Blanqui were condemned to death on March 11th, the same day that the Assembly's decision to remove the nation's capital from Paris to Versailles became definitely known.

These two events so manifestly inimical to the Paris populace, created an intense excitement. Mutterings of discontent were heard on every hand.

Thiers and the Assembly government arrived in Paris on March 15th and at once set about finding means to disarm the people and to transfer the governmental center to Versailles.*

Attempts by peaceful means to obtain possession of the cannon at Montmartre, through the Mayor of 18th Arrondissement, were futile; the Guards and the people refused to give them up.

General Vinoy is said to have entered the Montmartre district, on a tour of inspection, where he was villified by the women, pelted with stones and other missiles; but the crowning insult to the military leader was the offer to him of a workingman's cap.

On March 16th a meeting was held by the Federates; officers were elected. Garibaldi was elected general in chief. Lullier, a forcible speaker and a great swaggerer, was appointed colonel of artillery. Eudes, Duval, Henry and others, afterward prominent in the defence, were chosen chiefs of battalion.

On the following day Thiers issued a proclamation to the citizens of Paris, demanding the return of the cannon to the arsenals and the deliverance to justice of "criminals" who "affect to institute a government," and threatening force if the disarmament was not immediate. In the evening, an unsuccessful attempt was made to obtain possession of 56 cannon at Place des Vosges; these guns were removed that night by the Federates to Belleville and the Buttes Chaumont. The

*Versailles is situated 11 miles south-west of Paris, and in 1870 had about 45,000 inhabitants.

Federates now had in their possession 471 pieces of artillery, 171 of which were at Montmartre.

About 3 o'clock on the morning of March 18th an attempt was made by the Assembly's troops to take the cannon from Montmartre. This effort, made by a detachment under General Lecomte, would have been successful if transportation of the artillery after capture had been properly arranged for. The populace and most of the Federates were asleep. A faint defence was made. Several Federates were shot, a few captured; these were placed in No. 6 Rue des Rosiers, which house had, the day before, been the quarters of the Montmartre Defence Committee. Hours of waiting for horses to haul away the cannon followed the capture. Rockets were fired from Federate strongholds, and the rappel was sounded in many quarters.

The morning of the 18th dawned. Proclamations had been posted in the neighborhood by Lecomte on behalf of the government in the name of "law and order." These the women tore down. The rallying populace and Federates won over the soldiery. The women fed and brought wine to the Assembly troops on guard; the Federates appealed to the friendship of their comrades, and a general fraternization took place between the troops brought to capture the cannon and those who had placed them on Montmartre. The crowds forced back the guards, who yielded ground with scarcely a show of reluctance. Lecomte was incensed and addressed those showing their friendliness to the people, saying, "You shall have your deserts for this."

Lecomte three or four times ordered his men to fire on the crowd, but they refused, and

finally joined the people in capturing the general and some of his officers. Some of his soldiers, whom he had ordered under arrest for not firing into the crowd, wished to shoot him forthwith. The prisoners were taken to Chateau Rouge, a short distance from the scene of the arrest, and Lecomte was made to sign an order for the evacuation of Montmartre.

Some of Lecomte's men, recognized as *gend'armes* under Napoleon III, were killed by the people and Federates.

About 2 p. m. Lecomte and 10 other officers were removed from Chateau Rouge to 6 Rue des Rosiers, where there was a clamorous assembly of the people and Guards, the latter incensed by the wrongs of their comrades, and all maddened by the strong efforts made by the commanding officer in the morning to have his troops fire on the people. Lecomte's soldiers, who had felt his severity, struggled, assisted by the people, to take him from the guards.

A new prisoner was now introduced, amid an awful din. This was General Clement Thomas, said to have been captured while in the act of taking plans of the barracks on the boulevard Rochechaument.* He was almost immediately taken from those in charge, hurried to the yard adjoining and shot to death. "He stood up boldly to receive his death, and shaking his fist at his executioners, denounced them as cowards." ("*Laches.*") A volley was not fired, the soldiers

*He was passing in an inoffensive manner through the Rue Marie-Antoinette, when one of the insurgents having recognized him by his large white beard, went straight to him, saying, "You are General Clement Thomas? I don't think I can be mistaken. That beard of yours betrays you." "Well, supposing I am General Thomas. Have I not always done my duty?" "You are a traitor and a *miserable!*" said the insurgent, grasping the old man by the collar. He was immediately assisted by others, who helped to drag the General in the direction of Rue des Rosiers.—*Fetridge.*

shooting singly; Thomas did not fall until the fifteenth shot, although struck many times before.

General Clement Thomas had not been much heard of since he had assisted the enemies of the people in the butcheries of June.

This, and the incidents next related were not likely to make either the populace or the Federates friendly to him.

General Tamisier resigned as chief of the Guard when the Government of the National Defence broke its agreement with the leaders of the uprising of October and January by bringing them to trial. Clement Thomas was appointed his successor by the Government of the National Defence. He is accused of pitting the workingmen's battalions of the Guard against those recruited from the middle-class, and causing to be disbanded, by false assertions of cowardice, some of the bravest battalions, who wished to fight the Germans but who were not favorable to the singular plans of General Trochu, whom General Thomas served obsequiously. Clement Thomas had also resigned as commandant-in-chief of the National Guard on February 15th, 1871.

After the killing of General Thomas, Lecomte was the marched out and shot to death against the wall in the same place formerly occupied by General Thomas, whose body now lay at Lecomte's feet; he pleaded on behalf of his family for the mercy he had never shown. What had he cared for the families of those upon whom he had repeatedly ordered his troops to fire that morning? The first shot fired struck Lecomte behind the ear, killing him instantly.

Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas were killed by the infuriated soldiers and the

inhabitants of the quarter.* The shooting of Thomas was principally done by the members of the National Guard, who had served under him; Lecomte was killed by his own men, largely from the 88th regiment, who jeered at him as he was led out, and cried out to him, "Its your turn now; you gave the order to fire on the people." There is an undecided question as to whether Lecomte had a trial, but the belief is that he had some form of a trial. Evidence is lacking which would support the belief that General Thomas had any trial.† The other arrested officers were released.

Shortly before Lecomte's arrest, some horses arrived at Montmartre; they were harnessed to several guns, and accompanied by a party of soldiers of the line, started from the heights toward the city; were intercepted by Federates; the women of the district threw themselves on the guns; the regulars fraternized with the Federates; the traces on the harnesses were cut, and the cannon were dragged away by the people.

Endeavors by the Government to regain cannon in other quarters of the city had been in slight degree successful, but had generally failed more through the inadequacy of discipline and force in the attacking parties, than through the defensive efforts of the Federates.

The 88th regiment of the line was the soldiery which first occupied Montmartre, and afterward fraternized with the populace. This regiment

*On the 26th March, 1871, the National Assembly decreed that pensions should be awarded to the widows of the two generals and that a monument to them should be erected at the expense of the State. This monument has been constructed at Pere Lachaise, of granite from Flanders. The remains of the two generals were deposited there on the 26th of December, 1875.—

†The tribunal that condemned the generals was said to have been presided over by an artisan of the International Society named Assi.—*Cassell.*

was disbanded after the fall of the Commune, never to again exist in the army of France.

General d'Aurelles des Paladines, who succeeded Clement Thomas as Commander of the National Guard, issued a proclamation in the afternoon of the 18th March, calling on the Guards to "rally round their chiefs" as "the only means of escaping ruin and the domination of the foreigner." Of the 106th Battalion (which had defended the Hotel de Ville on October 31st, against the insurrectionists) but 300 of the 1200 men responded; other battalions supposed to be loyal responded in about the same ratio. Every development showed strength for the uprising.

The affair of March 18th was the signal for a general movement for defence against the government. Barricades were erected, guns mounted, and bystanders were called upon to work at building, or to assist in the defence of street fortifications. The Central Committee took charge of the greater part of the city, and had at least 100,000 troops at its command. The government had only a few thousand, many of which were likely, at any time, to fraternize with the Federates and the people.

A few slight conflicts took place on the 19th, the insurrectionists being always victorious. A call was issued by the Committee Central for an election of officials to govern the city, in which was said: "Let Paris and France together establish the basis of a Republic, acclaimed with all its consequences, the only government that will forever close the era of invasions and civil wars." This was signed by Assi, Billioray, Ferrat, Babick, Edouard Moreau, C. Dupont, Varlin, Boursier, Martier, Gushier, Lavalette, Fr. Jourde,

Rousseau, Ch. Lullier, Blanchet, J. Grollard, Barroud, H. Geresme, Fabre and Pougerot.

Command of the National Guard was, by the Mayors, given to General Langlois. He was rejected by the Central Committee and Lullier was elected commander by the Federates.

The officials of the Assembly government clandestinely left the city; Thiers leaving by the back door of the Hotel de Ville. General Vinoy took with him some troops and baggage, and by 10 a. m., March 19th, most of the Assembly's soldiers had left Paris. Almost every governmental post was deserted. A battalion of the National Guard which passed the Foreign Office, about 4 a. m. of the 19th, uttering menacing cries, is said to have accelerated the movements of the fleeing government.

When the officials fled the city, correspondence was found which fully revealed the perfidious character of the Government of the National Defence.

The Assembly cut the telegraph wires to prevent all communication with the outside provinces. The prefects of the provinces were informed by the Assembly that if any edicts emanating from Paris be published, the prefect of the district where the publication took place would be immediately arrested. The fortifications surrounding the city were evacuated by order of Thiers and the troops marched to Versailles to guard the persons of the officials. The forts remained unoccupied many hours, each member of the Central Committee assuring himself that some of the Committees' officials would attend to their occupation by the Federates. The events of the struggle awaited neither the dilatory

tactics nor the education by experience of those placed in positions of responsibility in Paris. C

Fort Valerian, the strategic key of the defence of Paris was manned by a strong force from Versailles as soon as the government's blunder in withdrawing the troops was appreciated. But before this was accomplished, General Vinoy is said to have pleaded unsuccessfully for hours with Thiers, who persistantly refused to sanction the re-occupation, afraid of exposing his own person to danger if the troops were removed from Versailles. Thiers was in great perturbation, fearing the march of the Federates on his capital, which, it was conceded, was sure to fall into their hands if the attack was made. Indecision was prominent in the action of both parties. Neither knew exactly its position or its strength.

The five forts on the south—Issy, Vanves, Montrouge, Irvy, Bicêtre—were occupied by the Federates. They took charge of the Hotel de Ville after a slight conflict. Jules Ferry, Central Mayor, was ousted; soon after, being threatened on the streets by a mob who shouted "Death to Ferry," he took refuge in the house of a friend, escaped out of a back window by means of a ladder, and accompanied by many others of the friends of the Assembly, slipped away to Versailles. The Committee Central speedily took possession of all public buildings and raised over them the red flag.*

Marshals McMahon and Canrobert also sought the seat of the Versailles government, the fate of Lecomte and Clement Thomas indicating surroundings not favorable for military leaders.

* The establishment of that Republic which takes pillage as its leading principle and blazons its banners with the hues of murder.—*Cassell*

Most of the city officials had taken themselves to Versailles, and the organization of the city now devolved upon the Committee Central. A communication was received by the new city government from the commander of the German troops occupying the forts on the north of the city, in which it was stated that the Prussians would not interfere with the internal dissensions if no enmity was shown toward foreigners. This made the Committee Central much more at ease and Paschal Grousset framed an answer acceptable to the Committee, which was forwarded to the German commander.

Thiers ordered 50,000 francs to be paid by the Bank of France for the arrears due the loyal National Guards.*

March 20th, the Guards' command was, by the Mayors, and by sanction of Thiers, placed in the hands of Vice-Admiral Saisset. The new commander wished to take active measures at once, and troops were necessary to support him; a few Guards friendly to the Assembly, principally small traders, were still in the city; these he endeavored to mobilize. Saisset, with the disposition exhibited by all officials and parties connected with Parisian public affairs, promulgated various proclamations. He could find no authoritative basis satisfactory to the people, and his numerous proclamations gained for him little consideration. Bonne, a tailor, Captain in the Guards friendly to the Assembly, also issued a proclamation calling on all to support the Assembly "in the interests of society." A Captain Vitroley issued a proclama-

*General d'Aurelles des Paladines attached much weight to the insincerity of M. Picard as a factor in creating dissatisfaction in the Guard. The payments due the Guards were always needlessly delayed; some were never paid.

tion in Saisset's behalf, imploring support for him in the interest of "order." Saisset could get no troops together in Paris; Thiers would send none from Versailles, as he feared an attack by the Federates.

The Versailles government in the *Journal Officiel* denounced the killing of Lecomte and Clement Thomas as assassination and charged the Committee Central with the crime. The *Rappel*, a revolutionary paper, announced the fact of the killing of the generals with expressions of profound sorrow; stated that the National Guards endeavored to prevent the shooting, but that the angry crowd and the soldiers of the line cried out for death. For the most part, the supporters of the revolt declared that by their acts toward the people the generals had forfeited their lives; that they had "made themselves amenable to the laws of war, which does not allow the assassination of women or espionage." The Committee Central declared its intention of investigating the circumstances of the killing, but no reports of such investigation appear in the records.

Appeals for desertions from the Parisian to the Versailles support were responded to only by the students of the Latin Quarter, who had been formerly of ultra-revolutionary tendencies, but who could not reasonably be expected, either from education or position in life, to join a movement so markedly proletarian as was the revolt now in progress. The National Guards who were especially appealed to, were firm in their adherence to the Committee Central.

The Mayors, to whom Thiers had delegated full powers, appointed a committee of three—M. Tirard, M. Dubail and M. Hèlegion to organize a

resistance to the Committee Central, now fully recognized as the dominant factor in affairs. Edouard Moreau, Jourde and Varlin acted for the Committee Central. In a conference the latter desired to control the Guards, but was willing to give the Mayors full municipal powers. This the latter refused. At this point, it is stated that the Central Committee delegates declared that "if it came to a conflict" and the Federates were defeated, they would "make of the country a second Poland."

There was a vague rumor afloat, probably unfounded, that Saisset intended attempting to establish himself as a dictator. He yielded up his authority, disbanded his troops, and went to Versailles on Saturday the 25th, to be reproached for his action by the irascible and unstable politicians of the Assembly, who would neither advise nor assist him.*

On the 20th the Assembly declared the Department of the Seine and Oise to be in a state of seige.

The Committee Central immediately ordered an election for Communal Councilors, on the basis of one representative for each 20,000 inhabitants, the election to take place March 22d. The *Journal Officiel*, the government organ, had been taken over and published by the Committee Central. The government at Versailles also published a *Journal Officiel*, which together with the Mayors of the arrondissements, protested against the holding of the election called by the Committee Central. On March 20th, 29 Paris papers issued a protest against the election.

*"Saisset disbanded his few battalions * * * and left on foot and in disguise for Versailles, where he reported to M. Thiers that it would take 300,000 men to suppress the Communal movement in Paris."—*Cassell*.

Raoul Rigault took charge of the Police department by order of the Committee Central.

Louis Blanc, Millièrè and others of the extreme Republican members of the Assembly, posted a manifesto in Paris on the 20th, in which they promised to bring before the Assembly the matters of the election of all officers of the Guard by its members, and a municipal council to be elected by all citizens in Paris.

In the Assembly's sitting on the 21st, M. Thiers spoke several times, using the most conciliatory language toward the radicals; he promised a municipal council for Paris, and declared that under no circumstances would he send an armed force against that city. Already the efforts made to increase the forces surrounding Paris were showing results, and every event showed the insincerity of these statements made by the head of the Versailles government.

The Committee Central delegated Tony Moilin as Mayor of the 6th arrondissement, in place of M. Hérisson. Moilin, after gaining possession of the Mairie and being displaced, was again installed by three battalions of Guards under Lullier.

What was called an "order" manifestation took place on the 21st. Considerable numbers of men paraded the streets crying "Down with the Committee Central." Some altercations occurred which, for a time, threatened a loss of life. A few arrests were made, by order of the Committee Central. The Federates seized several arsenals and equipped citizens with arms and munitions.

M. Bonjean, President of the Court of Cassation, an aged jurist and an ardent supporter of the Assembly, was arrested, but upon no definite charge.

On the next day an "order" procession consisting principally of civilians, but containing many men in the National Guard uniform, all apparently unarmed, was interrupted in its march as it attempted an entrance to the Place Vendome from the Rue de la Paix.* As the front ranks came up, the Guards in the Place Vendome turned the butts of their guns toward the crowd, who filled the air with cries for the Assembly and of "Down with the Committee Central." It seemed for a time that the affair might not be serious, but as those in the front ranks of the parade were crowded upon the Guards, recriminating and altercations occurred. The partisans of "order" attempted to disarm the Federates. A shot was fired. General Phil Sheridan, U. S. A., (who had accompanied the German army during the Franco-German war, and who had arrived in Paris March 2d) was an eye-witness of this affair, said the "order" representatives did the first firing;† the Federates were also fired upon from the windows of surrounding houses. When the Federates opened fire, the crowd scattered, running wildly in all directions to escape the fusilade. The firing lasted but a few moments. Eleven of the "order" partisans were killed, and probably three times as many were wounded. Pistols, swordsticks and missiles were found on the bodies of the participants in the parade who were killed or wounded, and weapons were plentifully scattered upon the ground from which they had been driven.

* The demonstration advanced with Admiral Saisset at its head * until * stopped * by * Guards, with bayonets, who filled * the entrance to the Place Vendome.—*Cassell*.

† They were without arms and most respectable in appearance—few blouses, * if any, were to be seen.—*Fetridge*.

† The Assembly declared that General Sheridan was "against them" because he made this statement.

Otto Hottinguer, regent of the Bank of France and a member of the great banking firm of Hottinguer & Co., and M. Nathan, another banker, were killed. One young American, an ex-soldier in the civil war in the United States, who had joined the French army against the Germans, was also among the killed.

Two Federates were killed, Wahlin and Francois; eight were wounded—Maljournal, Cochet, Ancelot, Legat, Reyer, Train and Laborde.

The *Journal Officiel* says—"The first of the dead taken to the ambulance of the Crédit Mobilier was Viscount de Molinet, who had been in the front of the crowd, and who was wounded in the back of the head. He fell at the corner of the Rue de la Paix and Neuve-des-Petits-Champs, on the Place Vendome side, with his face to the ground. The fact is clear that he was struck by his companions, for had he fallen in flying the body would have lain in the direction of the New Opera. On the corpse was found a poniard attached to the waist-belt by a chain."

The "peace" demonstration shows evidence of being an attempt to reach and seize the Committee Central headquarters in the Place

"The Federates were paid six sous per day; one sou in cash, and five in the cheques of the Central Committee; the latter were not readily negotiable, which was a source of much dissatisfaction to the soldiery."—*Cassell*.

The "Syndical Chambers of Stonemasons and Stonesawyers" on the 22d posted a manifesto printed on red paper, in the neighborhood of the Hotel de Ville. In part it said: "The difficult epoch which we are passing through must have brought us to serious reflection on the subject of our social position as workmen. We must ask ourselves whether we, the producers, ought to allow those who do not produce anything to live at ease; whether the system which has been pursued till now is destined to exist for all time, even when it is entirely opposed to us. * * * Our employers only think at this moment how to profit by our misery, in order to extort more from us, if possible. If we are true to ourselves, we will check their base rapacity. Let us prove our attachment to the sacred cause of Democracy."

Vendome, and the vigorous attempt to break the line where the fighting took place was certainly not a pacific movement.

The supporters of each party claimed that the opposition killed its own men and the reports of the affair are a mass of contradictory statements. The number of Guards killed and wounded, the friendly attitude of the Guards until the first shot was fired, together with the other circumstances surrounding this affair, bear out the belief that the intention was to overthrow the Committee's forces and establish Saisset in the Place Vendome.

Bergeret, who was in charge of the Federates, said: "At 1 o'clock a crowd of ten thousand advanced and overpowered the first line, wrenched the rifles from the troops * * The crowd * * commenced using their revolvers and four of our men fell * * The Guards fired first in the air. * Some, enraged at seeing their comrades fall, fired at the crowd. We do not want war, nor

Favre made a speech on March 22d in the Assembly on the affair of the killing of Generals Clement Thomas and Lecomte. He said that the crime had soiled the Republic with blood. He described the assassination of the generals as committed by wretches worthy no kind of pity, for they had shown none either for civilization or for France.—*Washburn.*

Besides the persons killed on the Place Vendome, thirty-three men (according to a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*) were put to death, in the latter days of March, on the most frivolous pretexts. Three of these were shot by National Guards at Belleville, because the latter did not admire the way they were dressed. One of the most shocking events of the time was the execution of an old man, seventy-eight years of age, named Bignon, who, some half century before, had denounced and caused the execution of four sergeants at La Rochelle, accused of political offences. Bignon was recognized in the Rue de Rivoli by a grandson of one of the sergeants, named Pommier. The young man was sitting before a cafe, chatting with a friend, when he suddenly and abruptly rose, went up to a man who was passing by, and said he arrested him as the person who had denounced the four sergeants. After a few words had been exchanged, Bignon disengaged himself from the grasp of his assailant, and ran away, but was recaptured by the crowd, who wished to shoot him on the spot. Young Pommier, however, interposed, saying that the man belonged to the justice of the land, and that the magistrates of the Republic must pass sentence on him. He was then conducted to the Mairie of the fourth arrondissement, and was afterwards put to death.

do we wish to kill each other, but what can we do?"

On the 22d the pupils of the Polytechnic School were given a vacation, and the youths placed themselves at the disposal of the city authorities, acting as aides-de-camp to the Provisional Staff at the Place de la Bourse.

A loyal regiment of the Guards with arms, three cannon and baggage forced its way through the city gates on the 22d, and marched to Versailles, where it was received with great enthusiasm and its officers promoted.

Delegations to Versailles from various organizations seeking conciliation were numerous, but they received none but equivocal answers from the Assembly. The Mayors declared they could not sanction the election unless it was first authorized by the Versailles government; on the 24th a dozen or more of them visited the Assembly at Versailles to affect an agreement for Sunday, March 26, as the day of election. A fierce dispute arose in the Assembly as to whether the Mayors should be heard. There finally occurred such disorder that the visitors withdrew without even having had a respectful hearing. On returning home a majority of the Mayors and the Committee Central agreed on an election for the 26th. This was opposed by the Versaillese, assisted by the bourgeois press of Paris, all of whom hoped to gain by delay.

On the 24th more proclamations were posted, one stating the Assembly's willingness to allow the election of a municipal council; the National Guards to elect all its own officers; modifications regarding rent laws, and arrangements to ease small rent-payers. Louis Blanc and other radicals

in the Assembly were in favor of a vote of approval on the action of the Mayors, (afterward almost unanimously defeated) but the general feeling among the Assembly's members was one of consternation at the agreement of the Mayors with the Committee Central on this important matter.

There was an irreconcilable though natural difference of opinion upon many subjects between the inhabitants of the French rural districts and the denizens of the large cities. The former were conservative and religious; the latter radical and atheistic; the first from the standpoint of the small land holder and the petty trader of the small towns, held for individual property; the last—full of propertiless artisans and laborers—were strongly Communistic; the rurals were peaceful and subservient; the wage-earners aggressive and rebellious; the country was personified in the Assembly, the city in the Commune. These opposing elements were bristling with rage and glaring at each other during these last days of March. In *Le Venguer* Félix Pyat said: "The Royal army took the Imperial army prisoner. It has not yet captured the red flag. * * Let the rurals in Versailles go home and feed their cows." The radical Paris papers were full of braggadocio and rhodomontade. The Assembly hastened the collection of troops, arms and munitions at Versailles.

Subterranean tunnels had been constructed in the city during the Second Empire. The workmen who built these passages were told that they were to be used as sewers. As a matter of fact Napoleon III had connected all the principal barracks with the Hotel de Ville, to be able to pour a military force on any revolutionary body which

might obtain possession of the centre of civil authority in the city. It was by this underground route that the Breton Mobiles entered for the defence of Trochu October 31st, 1870. The plan of these underground passages had been but partially disclosed to the Committee Central and there was much fear, on the part of the Federate authorities, of a surprise of the Hotel de Ville. Large bodies of armed men occupied the grounds about the city's capitol, and every precaution was taken to prevent an entry. This fear was not dissipated until the Commune was, as its members believed, solidly established by the election of the 26th.

On March 25th Generals Chanzy and Langourian, who had been arrested by orders from officials of the Committee Central on March 19th, were, by agreement, released, and a member of the Committee Central (arrested at Passy by the Assembly's supporters on the same day that the generals had been arrested) was set at liberty.

Charles Lullier (since the 19th in command of the Federates), was suspended as commander and imprisoned, on suspicion of treachery apparently well founded; the command had been tendered Garibaldi, the distinguished revolutionist, who had taken the field for the French in the war with Germany.

On election day, the Committee Central posted a proclamation claiming to have fulfilled its duty, and desiring that the Commune, when elected, should take up the entire work of the city government. There were some suggestions in the proclamation respecting a compromise with the Versailles. It has been intimated that this document was issued to gain votes for the members of the

Committee Central, many of whom were candidates for election to the Commune. Other proclamations of various import were posted; one signed by Lefrançais and Jules Vallès, on behalf of the Committee of the Arrondissements, solicited votes for Socialist candidates. The Committee Central announced the city under military control of Generals Brunel, Eudes and Duval. The election was for one representative for each 20,000 inhabitants or majority fraction thereof.

Sunday, the 26th, was a day of brightness and beauty. The pleasure-loving populace made the most of it, and Paris was a scene of fashion and gaiety, as well as of political action. There was but little disorder at the polls, except in the districts which were strong in sympathizers of the Assembly. In some cases blows were struck, a very unusual occurrence in France, but no fatalities or serious injury to persons were reported.

Less than 500,000 voters were listed; about half this number voted, a fact much discussed by the Versailles, as the result showed the solidarity of the working classes and the apathy of the friends of the Assembly.* There was a sentiment, often expressed by the opponents of the Commune, and particularly by the bourgeoisie of Paris, that the right to municipal control by the members of the Commune was vitiated because of the large

*Astonishing variations appear in the statements regarding the number of votes cast; one author states that over 600,000 votes were cast, 550,000 of which were for radical candidates—a too evident error.

ELECTION OF THE COMMUNE, MARCH 26, 1871.

AS STATED BY	TOTAL VOTE CAST	FOR RADICAL CANDIDATES
E. Belfort Bax	287,000	
T. March	224,000	
W. P. Petridge	180,000	120,000
E. B. Washburn	168,000	108,000
Cassell	120,000	

number of absentees from the polls. These observations seem to leave out of consideration the fact that the absentees, by their absence, surrendered their qualification to representation.

In Montmartre, Belleville, Montrouge and Villette the voting was practically unanimous for the workingmen candidates; 17 of the 20 arrondissements elected radicals; Passy, the Louvre and the Bourse districts elected representatives not in harmony with the Commune.

As soon as the results of the election became known on the evening of the 26th, there were great rejoicings in Paris. Fire works were let off in various parts of the city. The Tuilleries was thrown open, and speeches were made to great crowds by orators mounted on pedestals from which statues had been removed.

The elected delegates of the Commune were, as had been the case with the Committee Central members, largely unknown outside the class or district to which they belonged.

Felix Pyat, Delescluze, Blanqui, (who had spent two-thirds of his life in prison for political offences) Flourens and Gambon were prominent, having been much in public life. Blanqui was chosen three times; Pyat and Flourens each twice. Delescluze was elected from several arrondissements. He immediately sent in his resignation as Member of the Assembly, in which communication he declared his intention of serving the Republic and desired not to further associate himself with "the insanities and passions of the Versailles Chamber."

By the election of the same citizen for more than one arrondissement and for other reasons, the total elections were 93; duplicates 8, triplicates 7;

total persons elected 86. Some who were elected never served, and there were many resignations during the life of the Commune.

ELECTED, BUT DID NOT SERVE—Adam, Meline, Brelay, Loiseau-Pinson, Tirard, Cheron, Albert Leroy, Goupil, Robinett, Ranb, U. Parent, Desmerest, E. Ferry, Nast, Fruneau, Marmottan, De Beuteller, Murat, Lefever, Barre 20

Twelve of these persons had been either mayors or adjuncts elected in November, 1870; they were Adam, Meline, Brelay, Loiseau-Pinson, Murat, Albert Leroy, Desmerest, Ferry, Nast, Tirard, Marmottan, Cheron. The first nine of these had signed the agreement made with the Committee Central, and Tirard had given in his adhesion to it.

Deducting the members above and also Blanqui, who was held in prison by Thiers, there remained a total of sixty-four persons, whose respective claims to popular favor may be roughly gauged by the division under which they fall.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE CENTRAL—Arthur Arnould, Antoine Arnaud, Assi, Blanchet, Brunel, Babick, Billioray, Bergeret, Cluvis Dupont, Eudes, Fortune, Geresme, Jourde, Lefrancais, Langevin, Malon, Ostyn, Pindy, Ranvier, Varlin, Vaillant 21

MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION—Amouroux, Assi, Avrial, Beslay, Babick, Clemence, V. Clement, Chalaïn, Demay, Duval, Dereure, Frankel, Emile Gerardin, Jourde, Lefrancais, Langevin, Malon, Ostyn, Oudet, Pindy, Theisz, Varlin, Vaillant, Verdure 24

Deduct Assi, Babick, Jourde, Ostyn, Pindy, Varlin, Vaillant, Lefrancais and Langevin found in both above lists. 9

JOURNALISTS—Arthur Arnould, Chardon, J. B. Clement, Cournet, Delescluze, Ferre, Flourens, Gambon, Paschal Groussët, Miot, Felix Pyat, Protot, Rigault, Tridon, Verdure, Jules Valles, Vermorel 17

Deduct Verdure and Arnould found in preceding lists 2

SPEAKERS AT CLUB AND PUBLIC MEETINGS—Amouroux, Jules Allix, Champy, E. Clement, Demay, Descamps, Charles Gerardin, Ledroÿt, Leo Meillet, Martelet, Ostyn, Oudet, Parisel, Puget, Regere, Rastoul, Urbain 17

Deduct Amouroux, Demay, Ostyn and Oudet found in preceding lists 4

Total 13
64

Such an array of speakers and writers probably no city has ever seen in its legislative representatives. Subsequent events proved many of the members to be of rare ability, but war was not their forte. The Commune's false hopes were

soon exposed, as well as its inability in what proved to be its principal business—the war against the Assembly.

The election of March 26th, established in Paris the largest legitimate representative government in France. The Assembly elected to represent the sentiment as to the continuance of the war, and in the event of non-continuance, to establish a peace agreement, had discontinued hostilities, surrendered territory and arranged for the peace indemnity. For its further existence there was no logical reason, except in the usurpation of the powers of a National legislative body.

The advent of the Commune was celebrated with festivities on the 28th. Cannon salutes, military parades, bands playing and thousands singing the Marseillaise. Speeches were made in the square in front of the Hotel de Ville. Very large bodies of military surrounded the place of the celebration, and cannon were trained to sweep the boulevards. The tri-color alternated with the red flag in the square, evidently a concession to the Moderate Party.*

*One author says: "The Commune was inaugurated at the Hotel de Ville on the 28th with considerable ceremony. The gate below the clock-tower was hung with red, blue and green drapery, whilst the statue of Henry IV above was concealed with a crimson curtain. A platform ornamented with a bust of a female figure representing the Republic had been erected in front of the building, and on it were placed arm-chairs for the accommodation of the Committee. Cannon were drawn up on the square, which was also occupied by about 20,000 National Guards in close ranks. Other battalions waited in the adjacent streets and on the quay. At four o'clock Citizen Assi rose and announced that the power of the Central Committee had transpired and was now transferred to the Commune. He then read aloud the names of the Councilors elected. Cries of "Long Live the Republic" were raised, the trumpets sounded, drums beat, and caps were waved in the air. About four o'clock salvos were fired from the Hotel de Ville, and answered by the guns at Montmartre. This cannonade created considerable alarm among the inhabitants, who imagined that the troops of Versailles had arrived at Paris, or that the Prussians had returned to restore order. All the National Guards present, to the number of 60,000, then marched past the dais on which the Committee was seated. In the evening the Arc de Triomphe, barracks, and principal public buildings were illuminated."

The *Journal Officiel* of the Commune on March 30th published the following as the appointees to committees.

Executive—Vaillant, Duval, Eudes, Tridon, Lefrancais, Felix Pyat, Bergeret.

Finance—Jourde, Varlin, V. Clement, Beslay, Regere.

Military—Duval, Flourens, Pindy, Eudes, Bergeret, Chardon, Ranvier.

Justice—Protot, Ranc,* Leo Meillet, Vermorl, Ledroit, Babick.

Police—Rigault, Ferre, Assi, Cournet, Oudet, Chalain, Gerardin.

Subsistence—Ostyn, Clement, Dereure, Champy, Parisel, Emile Clement, H. Fortune.

Industry and Exchange—Frankel, Malon, Theisz, Dupont, Avrial, Loiseau-Pinson, Eug. Gerardin, Puget.

Exterior Relations—Paschal Grousset, Delescluze, Ranc, Ulysse Parent, Arthur Arnould, Ant. Arnould, Ch. Gerardin.

Public Service—Ostyn, Billioray, J. B. Clement, Mardelet, Mortier, Rastoul.

Education—Jules Valles, Doctor Goupil, Lefevre, Urbain, Albert Leroy, Verdure, Demay, Doctor Robinet.

A classification by occupation of members of the Commune :

“ Among the members of the Commune there were 12 journalists, 4 common schoolmasters, 4 barristers, 2 apothecaries, 5 painters, 2 architects, 2 engineers, 6 clerks belonging to commercial houses or to Government offices, 1 sculptor, 2 tradesmen, 1 journeyman jeweler, 1 journeyman carver, 1 journeyman printer, 2 journeyman bookbinders, 2 journeymen dyers, 2 journeyman shoemakers, 1 journeyman hatter, 5 journeymen in the engineering service, 1 tinker, 1 basketmaker, 1 joiner, 1 cashier, 1 hairdresser, and 3 proprietors. The three last-mentioned were the citizens Theodore Regere de Montmore, who owned some small lands in the south of France; Pottier, the proprietor of a large bathing establishment near the Bank; and the Commandant Brunel. The well-known members of the Commune were M. Felix Pyat, the editor of the *Vengeur*; M. Ranc, a functionary of the Gambetta Government at Tours and Bordeaux; Gustave Flourens, one of the heroes of the movement of October 31st, and son of a savant of the Institute; M. Protot, an advocate; M. Leo Meillet, a Mayor, who had been very influential in obtaining the release of General Chanzy, and who received the thanks of the Assembly for his efforts in that cause; M. Paschal Grousset, the young Corsican whose challenge to Prince Pierre Bonaparte, in January, 1870, led to the death of his representative, M. Victor Noir; M. Arthur Arnould, formerly a writer in the *Marseillaise*; M. Jules Valles, of the *Diable a Quatre*; M. Delescluze, a prominent Red Republican; and M. Ulysse Parent, a young man of fortune, who had for some time been on intimate terms with the revolutionary party. The great majority of the Communal administrators were persons of humble birth; but these belonged to the educated circles, and were men with positions to lose.”—*“The Place Vendome and La Roquette,”* by Abbe Lamazou.

* Ranc resigned April 7, declaring his “disapproval upon several important points as to the direction which has been given the Commune movement. * * Not wishing to create dissension, I decide upon retiring. I return to the ranks, and once more become a simple soldier of Paris, of the Commune and of the Republic.”

No permanent president was elected in the Communal sittings. That official was selected from among the members at each meeting. The intention was not to have one person permanently hold a position of such authority and responsibility.

At the election of the Commune the Committee Central was supposed to have finished its duties, and its continuance in special functions made the Commune's duties more complicated and less likely to proper observance.

A Sub-Committee Central in the Commune was formed for the purpose of directing the Federates. This Committee consisted of Assi, Cluseret, Bergeret, Henry, Babick, Avoine Jr., Avrial, Maljournal, Duval and Géresme.

About 2,000 cannon including those in the forts, were at the disposal of the Commune; the Federates actually under arms were probably 125,000, but more than this were available. Their numbers has been variously stated from 125,000 to 300,000 men. The Assembly's forces were comparatively weak in numbers, not trusted by their leaders. The districts of the country were invaded by the agents of Thiers, inviting assistance. The days next following the election of the Commune were busy ones for the Versaillese, who were aware of the strong feeling among the Parisians in favor of an attempt to capture the Assembly's capital.

The number of persons who left Paris during the ten days ending the 30th of March was estimated at upwards of 160,000.

IV.

War—The Events of April.

On April 1st Thiers declared war and firing was begun by the Versailles forces. The troops at the command of the Assembly now comprised about 100,000 men, 50,000 of whom had been gathered together from various sources since March 20th. By vote in the Assembly each department was called upon to furnish a regiment, to be recruited as rapidly as possible from old and trusty soldiers, and forwarded at once to Versailles. These recruits were to receive a franc and a half a day. "Brittany furnished a small contingent of troops immediately on the call of Thiers for provincial support of the Assembly. These troops fought under a white flag, each wore on his breast the heart of Jesus in white cloth and their cry was "Long live the King". The prisoners returned from Germany furnished large additions. Bismarck's influence did not cease in French affairs when the peace treaty was signed. He consigned the prisoners to Thiers in quantities just sufficiently large to keep the Versaillese in dependence upon him.

The Commune's members were directed to take up the work of the local government of the districts which had elected them, in addition to their duties in the central body.

The Military Committee of the Commune issued a proclamation in which it said: "The

Royalist conspirators have attacked, our moderate attitude notwithstanding. Our duty is to defend the city against this wanton aggression."

Rigault ordered the arrest of the policemen who were not carrying out the Commune's orders. The gates were closed to the further exodus of the bourgeoisie, who were hastening out of the city.

The "Assistance Publique" which had headquarters opposite the Hotel de Ville, and managed estates and collected moneys for the hospitals of Paris, on April 1st, smuggled out of the city no less than 75,000,000 francs. The money and securities were hidden in sacks and removed through the gates in potato carts. A few days later the Jesuits made an attempt to get off with 400,000 francs in strong boxes, but they were not successful, for the money was seized at the Lyons railway station.

Henri Rochefort, through his journal, the *Mot d' Ordre*, demanded the demolition of the statue of Marshal Ney, the first Napoleon's famous officer. "The Government of the National Defence had thrown Napoleon's statue into the Seine, why should his servant's statue continue to commemorate the First Empire?"

The capture of Versailles was now being considered by the Commune. There seems to have been fully as much debate upon the propriety of the attempt as upon the probability of its success. This project was the cause of rancorous discussions in the Commune's sittings for many days. The meetings had now been made secret, though the general proceedings were made known to the public through proclamations and through the *Journal Officiel*. There seems to be little doubt but that the Assembly's agents were, to a large extent, aware of the Commune's proceedings at

all times. Cluseret and Eudes had been appointed Delegates of War.

The opening of extensive hostilities outside the city occurred April 2d. The Federates had erected some fortifications at Neuilly with the intention of stopping the expected advance on Paris. General Vinoy, from Fort Valerian, sent a deputation to demand the Federates' withdrawal. There was an altercation and Dr. Pasquier, one of the deputation from the fort, said to have been unarmed and carrying a flag of truce, was shot and killed at the bridge of Courbevoie. He was a favorite with the *gend'armes*, who swore to avenge him. His death greatly complicated matters, and undoubtedly, added much to the unexampled atrocities of the Versaillese toward their prisoners. It was a most unfortunate affair, the details of which have never been clearly shown. The Federates claimed they believed the doctor to be a spy, and that he acted as if about to draw a revolver when shot. After the killing of Dr. Pasquier a general action took place. The regulars brought up to support the Versaillese *gend'armes* were tempted by a body of Federates, who turned the butts of the guns towards the advancing soldiers of the line; when the latter arrived in position, they fired a volley into the unresisting ranks of the Federates, who were thus rudely awakened from their dream of a friendly agreement with the opposing forces. The Federates, successful in withstanding the attack on their barricades, followed the retreating foe, and encountered the Pontifical Zouaves, headed by Colonel Charrette, and some other Versaillese reinforcements. The Zouaves advanced to the charge with cries of "Long live the King," a singular war cry for soldiers of a "Republic." Their advance was so

valorous and so well sustained by the regulars, that the Federates gave way and were finally defeated, after two hours' sharp fighting. They were driven from Courbevoie and the bridge at Neuilly, and finally into the city, all the while being subjected to the fire of cannon from field guns and from Fort Valerien, and were also mowed down by the mitrailleuses of the Assembly's troops. The shells from Valerien fell among the combatants as they fought during the Federates' retreat, killing and wounding both pursuers and pursued. The Federates had no artillery in this action and complained bitterly of being obliged to battle under such circumstances. The Versaillese captured five prisoners—one a lad of 15, all of whom they murdered in cold blood.

The *Times* correspondent reported that General Vinoy had personally ordered the killing of all National Guards captured.

The greatest excitement now pervaded the exasperated Federates and the people of Paris. The huge body of soldiers was anxious to fight. Military affairs were in a very unsystematic condition. There was no chief commander, that office having been abolished, it being believed that its continuance carried too great a centralization of power.

Preparations for an advance on Versailles now occupied the energies of the Military Commission. Their haste was great, as they were driven by the heat of an excited populace, and surrounded by thousands of Federates, enraged by the repulse at Neuilly, and eager for an opportunity for retaliation. The Commune's plans, such as they were, had been so quickly acted on that on the morning of the 3d, shortly after midnight, there issued from the city three divisions

of the Federate forces, commanded by Duval, Bergeret and Eudes. The combined force is variously stated, but probably 65,000 men were in the ranks. Each division took a separate road with the intention of concentrating en route for Versailles. Rossel, who was chief of a legion, ordered his men to retreat before fighting began, alleging the ill condition of his troops and the lack of proper arrangements regarding supplies. Furious fighting took place on all the routes. General Duval, of the left division, by the lamentable lack of discipline, and the disaster on the right, was left unsupported. After a valorous effort he was obliged to surrender with about 1,500 men and General Vinoy asked the officers to step forward. General Duval and two other officers responded and saluted; they were at once stood up against a house and shot to death by order of Vinoy, contrary to the agreement of surrender. Their bodies were then thrown into a ditch.*

Eudes was commanding the center column, the largest of the three, said to have contained 35,000 men. He met so vigorous an opposition as to completely disorganize his troops, who were routed, leaving many dead on the field; the Versaillaise took some prisoners. Several of the cannon brought with the Federates were hurried into place to reply to the artillery fire of the enemy, when it was discovered that the projectiles at hand were of the wrong calibre.

Bergeret and his officers were fancifully decorated with ribbons and gold laces. Bergeret, who is said to have been too unwieldy to ride on

* Several authors endeavor to conceal this murder by saying that Duval was killed in the battle, exhibited great bravery, etc. Fetridge says: "General Duval was killed the first day at Chatillon. * * General Henry was sent to Versailles. The Versailles papers speak highly of the former's bravery."

horseback, accompanied his troops in a victoria drawn by two horses. His division marched from the Porte Maillot directly past and in range of Fort Valerien. The fort had been reinforced during the night by a strong body of Versaillese, and the Federals apparently believed, as they foolishly declared, that the fort would not fire on them.* This division was allowed to partially pass before a heavy fire of cannon, and mitrailleuses was opened upon them. The center of the column was demoralized and the rear retreated. Flourens' division, which passed to the north of the fort, had not been fired on, advanced, and was engaged by the enemy at Reuil.

Flourens, with 3,000 or 4,000 men, was pressing back the Versaillese, when a whole army corps which had been concealed, was encountered and the Federates were defeated and scattered. Flourens and his aide-de-camp, Cypriani, were surrounded in a house in which they had taken refuge. Flourens, with a pistol, wounded one of the party who invaded the apartment where he was concealed. Captain Demarest rushed in and instantly killed Flourens by a stroke of a sabre which cleft his head open. Demarest, for this act, received the Cross of the Legion of Honor from the hands of Thiers. Cypriani was taken prisoner and sent to Versailles.

* It has been unhesitatingly stated by friends of the Commune that the leaders had deceived the body of the Federates by telling them that Fort Valerien was in the hands of the Commune.

"On the afternoon of April 3d, a body of several hundred women gathered at the Place de la Concorde, and set out for Versailles in imitation of those who marched upon the same place in the time of Louis XVI. They paraded up the Champs Elysees, wearing the bonnet rouge and singing the Marseillaise. Whenever they met an omnibus they stopped it, caused the passengers to dismount, and took possession themselves. They were in charge of an old woman, 60 years of age, who mounted an omnibus, displayed the red flag and gave the word of command."—*Washburn*.

Misleading messages were circulated in the city, most of them declaring great successes by the Federates.*

Flourens was one of the foremost revolutionary leaders and vigorous agitators of his day. Huge festoons of gold lace, gaudy ribbons, hats of most singular designs fancifully ornamented, were much favored by some of the leaders, Flourens among them, whose military capabilities were not of an order to well stand the attention which their equipage attracted. Flourens was an officer in the revolt in Crete against the Turks in the Levant.

"Gustave Flourens was an accomplished scholar and a man of much intelligence, but he early imbibed those revolutionary ideas which in the end cost him his life."

"Flourens had begun life with every prospect of being a distinguished scientist. His father, Pierre Flourens, had been perpetual secretary of the Academy of Sciences and a professor in the College de France, in which his son succeeded him when he was barely twenty-one. His first lecture, on the "History of Man," created a great impression; but in 1864 he resigned his professorship, and thenceforward devoted all his energies to the cause of the oppressed. In Crete he fought against the Turks. He was always conspiring when at home in Paris; even when the Prussians were at its gates he could not refrain. He was the darling of the Belleville population, whom in times of distress and trial he fed, clothed and comforted. Sometimes in prison, sometimes in exile. "He was a madman, but a hero, and towards the poor and the afflicted as gentle as a sister of charity," said one who knew him."†

The demonstration against Versailles was continued in a desultory manner on April 4th, some reinforcement being forwarded to the Federates, and also to the Versailles troops. The result was a disastrous defeat for the Commune's forces,

At 3 o'clock a courier passed by the Arc de Triomphe on his way to the Hotel de Ville, announcing to the crowd that Flourens had entered Versailles at the head of 40,000 men—that they had captured one hundred deputies, and M. Thiers was a prisoner!

Some one suggested that "there were not over 20,000 men who went out this way."

"Where did he get the men?"

"Oh, he has them!" and "General Bergeret fought like a tiger. He had two horses killed under him."

"Before him you mean," shouted one of the crowd, "as he went out in a victoria."

in some parts of the field a rout. Ranvier, however, had supplied Fort Issy with several cannon which contributed greatly to the city's defence thereafter. An important factor in the vanquishing of the Federates was the lack of attention paid to the distribution of ammunition and supplies. Artillery ambulances and ammunition wagons were "everywhere except where they were wanted." On the 4th the Federates captured 250 of the Versaillese troops, losing about 100 of their own men, including two commandants of battalion.

General Gallifet, of the Versaillese, distinguished himself on the 5th by bloodthirsty threatenings and by ordering the killing of Parisians. The character of this exceptionally sanguinary Versaillese commander will be exhibited in the account of his actions to be found in a subsequent chapter.*

The death of Flourens was the signal for outbursts of furious invectives by the Parisians against the Versaillese. His killing was denounced as assassination, and there was immediately organized a corps of independent soldiery styling themselves "Avengers of Flourens," with the avowed purpose of revenging his death in every possible manner. In Versailles the news of his demise was received with unconcealed joy, and so important was he considered to the uprising by some of the Assembly's supporters, that they declared the revolution practically defeated with his death. The honors which greeted the slayer of Flourens show that his death was regarded as of great assistance to the Versaillese cause.

*This Gallifet, "the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire," went, during the war, by the name of the French "Ensign Pistol."—*Address of Int. W. A.*

The Military Commission displaced Bergeret and Eudes from their commands. Cluseret was appointed in Bergeret's place. Lullier, in the excitement escaped from prison and gathered a band of personal followers about him, whose independent action served only to embarrass the Commune, who still hoped to use Lullier's supposed military ability. Lullier addressed a letter to Henri Rochefort, in which he said that he had been "the victim of machinations," that he was now surrounded by 200 resolute men; that he carried three loaded revolvers, and was resolved to break the head of anyone who might come to arrest him. He was again sent to prison after the Federates finally withdrew from the advance on Versailles. Assi was committed to prison for questioning the powers of the Commune to take aggressive action against Versailles.

The Assembly at this time evidenced the most determined efforts to stamp out all Communist support in Versailles. Those who avowed any sympathy or friendship for the National Guard or for the Commune were said to have been killed by men hired for that purpose.

Garibaldi sent the Committee Central a letter containing a choice assortment of advice, but declining the proffered post of Commander of the Army of Paris.

The Communal uprising at Marseilles was the strongest outside Paris. *A manifesto was issued. On April 4th the Assembly's troops captured the Marseilles railway station, defeating the

*In part it said: "We want the establishment of the Republic by Republican institutions. We want unity of political guidance, with a constituent Assembly, and a Republican Government the offspring of that Assembly, both having their seat in Paris. We want decentralization of the authorities, with autonomy of the Commune, while confiding to the Municipal Council elected by each large city its administrative and municipal belongings. The institution of Prefectures is fatal to liberty. We want the establish-

National Guard, three of whom they took prisoners and immediately shot. Later in the day severe fighting took place, resulting in the killing and wounding of over 200 persons. By evening the Versaillese were in full possession of the city.

The Commune was declared in Lyons, Narbonne, Toulouse and St. Etienne, and was only subdued in each instance by loss of life.*

Elisée Reclus was captured while making a reconnaissance at Chatillon.

The funeral of those killed in the battles of the days next previous took place on April 6th. The ceremonies were not of a religious character, but were appropriate and impressive. Five members of the Commune were chief mourners. Delescluze pronounced a funeral oration at the grave. More than 200,000 people attended the ceremonies at Pere la Chaise cemetery.

The unparalleled action of the Versaillese in the murdering of prisoners, which had been a marked feature of the victories of April 2d, 3rd and 4th, exasperated the Communal authorities, who attempted to stop further killings of this kind by immediately seizing M. Darboy, Archbishop of Paris; M. Deguerry, Cure of the Madeleine, and

ment of the Republic by the federation of the National Guard over the whole breadth of our country. But, above all things, we want what Marseilles wants. If the Government having its seat at Versailles had consented to dissolve the National Assembly, whose mission had expired, and transferred the seat of government to Paris, we should not ask such guarantees."

*Let us look back for a moment to the twenty-two years ending 1870, and think of the treason of the Provisional Government of 1848, of the treason and brutal tyranny of the Constitutional Assembly, and of the National Assembly which followed, the slaughter of tens of thousands of the working classes, and the murder, or imprisonment and exile of all the leaders of the people; the treason, the perfidy, and the bloody massacres of Louis Napoleon, and his career of shameless tyranny, ending in the humiliation of France; the usurpation and treason of the so-called government of National Defence, and of the Assembly elected to ratify the conditions of peace; remembering all these, need we be surprised at the revolt of the people of Paris, of Lyons, and of Marseilles against usurpation, and their determination to raise the banner of the republic.—*Sketchley.*

others of the notable ecclesiastics of Paris.* These were held as hostages, and many radical journals advised their death in reprisal for the prisoners killed.†

The law of reprisals has always been sanctioned during war; its effects have been for the most part, bad, entailing upon innocent persons a violent death; and, arousing all the vengeful feelings of the combatants, has prolonged the rancor of war and extended the area of death. It is questionable whether the threats of reprisals had any good effect on the Versaillese. The soldiers of the Assembly were constantly gaining ground, and it has never been shown that the Versaillese government dared to discourage their methods, so long as the end desired was being accomplished; in fact, every official document praised, and not one ever carried a word of rebuke or caution to the troops.

There was, moreover, a hatred engendered in the soldiers returned from Germany by the open contempt with which they were held by the Parisians, who had not forgotten Metz and Sedan, nor forgiven their capitulation. The troops with which Bismarck furnished the Assembly, were continually referred to as "capitulards."

Whatever may have been the sentiments of the German authorities toward the Commune in its early days, it was evident that at this time there

*Lagorde, grand vicar of Mgr. Darboy, was paroled "on his honor," and sent to Versailles as a messenger to negotiate the exchange Darboy and others for Blanqui. He not only failed in his errand, but never returned, though before going he declared he would return "even to face death itself."

†The *Journal Officiel* on the 7th contained the following, part of an Address to the citizens of Paris "We have hostages in our hands. Let the Commune issue a decree and let its men act. For every head of a patriot which falls under the hands of the Versailles authorities, let that of a Bonapartist, Orleanist or Legitimist roll in the dust as a reply."

was a complete understanding between the Assembly's agents and the Prussian military chiefs.*

Cluseret now ordered all men, married or single, between and including the ages of 19 and 45 to join in the defence; those of 17 and 18 years of age could volunteer to the service. This was unwelcome to a large number of the inhabitants, either neutrals or Versailles sympathizers.

The *Journal Officiel* (on the presence of the Duc d'Aumale in France) said: "Society owes but one duty to princes—death; it is only bound to observe one formality—identity."

On Good Friday, the 7th, the defences at Neuilly, which had been strengthened, were attacked and after furious fighting, the Federates were driven from the stronghold. This gave to the Versaillese a strong and nearer position to the city. Colonel Bourgoïn died while at the head of the troop defending a barricade. Bourgoïn was formerly aide-de-camp to Flourens when the latter was in the insurrection in Crete against the Turks.

There are slight indications that the Prussians were friendly to the uprising in its early days.

Some time after the suppression of the Commune, the *Constitutionnel* alluded to a letter addressed by the Prussian authorities to the Communal War Department. This letter offered considerable quantities of flour, chasse-pots, and bayonet-sabres, at certain stipulated prices. A sample of the proposed flour was enclosed.

Some authorities insist that Thiers wished the Germans to re-occupy Paris immediately after the Commune's election, but that Bismarck had no wish for a possible re-opening of hostilities, which might result from the revolt of the people throughout France at such action. It was understood that the war loan to France was not to be paid until the pacification of Paris.

The *Address of International* asks: "Now, is it true or not—

1. That the business was so managed that a consideration of several hundred millions was secured for the private benefit of Thiers, Jules Favre, Ernest Picard, Pouyer-Quertier, and Jules Simon? and—

2. That no money was to be paid down until after the "pacification" of Paris?"

*The entire concord which existed between the Thiers Government and the German military authorities is shown by a proclamation issued by Prince Albert of Saxony, commander-in-chief of the Prussian 32d army corps on April 6th. By this order the powers of the French civil authorities were declared entirely transferred to the German military commanders. The

The loss to the Federates was about 225 killed and 43 wounded in this defeat.

The artillery fire on both sides was rapid and destructive. Twenty-one officers of the Versaillese were killed or wounded, Generals Besson and Pexhot among the number. The fighting at Neuilly was desperate and great courage was shown by both defenders and assailants. Hand-to-hand combats were common. The treatment of prisoners by the Versaillese probably excelled in ferocity anything recorded of civilized warfare.* Huge numbers of spectators viewed the engagement from either side.

The vicinity of the Arc de Triomphe, from which the battle could be seen, was thronged, notwithstanding the imminent danger from shells, now specially directed on this part of the city. The constant falling of shells in the streets of Paris occasioned much displeasure as well as loss of life. The Parisians, knowing their danger to be greatly decreased by falling on their faces on the approach of a shell, were often put through this exercise by false alarms from the gamins. The latter would often cry "a shell" for the express purpose of seeing

military tribunals were made competent to try offences against the German troops or against "public order" and the German officers were instructed to order the delivery of arms and ammunition and to search for and remove them; and to prohibit such publications and meetings as may seem to them of a nature to produce or protract disorder.

That this proclamation was aimed at the Commune and its sympathizers is plainly to be seen and that it was solicited by the Assembly's executive is equally evident. A more disgusting and lugubrious spectacle than these boasters of the Government of National Defense, whose mouths had been filled with "great swelling words" of defiance a few months before, now crouching fawningly at the feet of their conquerors, is scarcely to be imagined. But in the face of the danger which threatened their class supremacy, the bourgeoisie of both nations forgot patriotism and national animosities and united in the attempt to crush the insurgent proletariat.

*A writer saw the gen'd'armes belonging to the Government forces bring some fugitives in; and these were treated with a severity which showed that they had met with no sympathizers. They were loaded with curses and abuse, struck with the butt-ends of rifles, and sometimes threatened with immediate death. On one occasion a general interfered to

some stout pedestrian lie down with alacrity and rise full of rage at his youthful tormenters, for whose amusement he had been reduced to such an undignified position.

Ladislas Dombrowski succeeded Bergeret in the command of the West.

Eudes had charge of the forts on the South, where fighting went on constantly.

Bergeret had been given charge of Neuilly, and was imprisoned after the defeat. When questioned as to the strength of the defensive works at that place, and the possibility of its falling, his reply was: "I have been there; I have fortified the place, and I defy the Versaillese." He is stated to have substituted his own authority for that of Cluseret on the night of the 7th. There was a dispute between them after the arrest of Bergeret, who refused to acknowledge Cluseret's authority, declaring that he would not

save the lives of his prisoners, saying that the proper treatment of such men was to despise them. Even the badly wounded were jeered at, and the captives generally were told that there was no need of ropes for binding them, as they would be shot on making the slightest attempt to escape.

"There can be little doubt that the Versaillese troops behaved with great ferocity to their prisoners. Several independent observers testify to this fact; and it was said that it even caused a reaction in their favor to spring up amongst the people of the Royalist town where the Government and the army had their headquarters; though many at Versailles joined in the outrages committed on the captives. When the prisoners were brought in, M. Picard, the Minister of the Interior, walked from group to group, making jokes; and Madame Thiers, surrounded by a bevy of ladies, sat looking on in a balcony of the Prefecture. Henry, (who a few days afterwards escaped, and got back again into Paris) produced a considerable effect. He was young, handsome and manly, and conducted himself with courage and dignity. But for the most part it was a miserable sight; and the treatment of the Communist prisoners undoubtedly did much towards embittering a conflict which was not at all wanting in heat and venom."—*Cassell*.

In consideration of the unexampled treatment of prisoners by the Versaillese, the citizens of Paris were addressed by the Communal authorities in a proclamation which began:—

"Versaillese do not wage war against you like civilized men, but like savages. The Vendéans of Charette, the agents of Pietri, shoot the prisoners, and massacre the wounded in the ambulances. Twenty times the wretches who dishonor the uniform of the Line have turned their muskets butt-end upwards, and then traitorously fired upon our gallant men."

“obey a man who fought to continue slavery in the United States.” This display of ignorance on the part of Bergeret may be taken as an indication of his general knowledge. Had his military talents and bravery equalled his self-esteem and love of display, he would have been the Colossus of the Communal defence. Reproaching Bergeret and others, Cluseret issued his sensible address condemning the increasing use of gold lace, etc., and pointed out to them: “That as workingmen who have accomplished a great revolution, they should not blush for their origin; the movement had been made in the name of virtue against vice, of duty against abuse, of honesty against corruption, and had triumphed for that very reason,” and concluded by announcing that any officer who added embellishments to the regulation dress, should be sent before a Council of Discipline.

The ecclesiastics were examined by Rigault and Dacosta. M. Deguerry was thus interrogated:

“What is this trade of yours?”

“It is not a trade; it is a profession, a moral ministry which we undertake for the amelioration of souls.”

“Ah, that is all *blagues*. We want to know what stories you tell the people.”

“We teach them the religion of Our Lord Jesus Christ.”

“There are no Lords. We don’t know any Lords,” said Rigault.

Archbishop Darboy was conducted to the ex-Prefecture of Police and brought before Raoul Rigault, who asked his name.

“My children,”—replied the Archbishop.

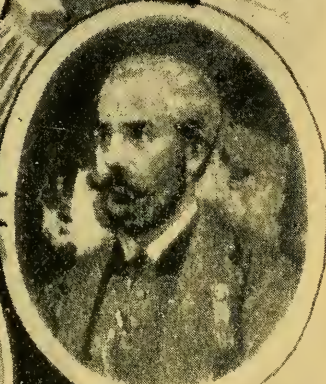
“Citizen,” interrupted Rigault, “leave off that wheedling and familiar tone; you are not before



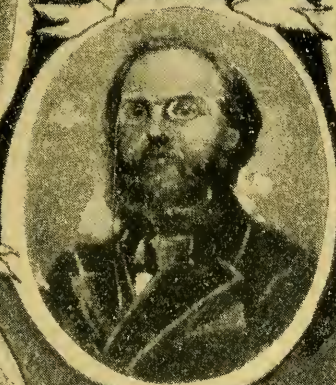
GAMBON



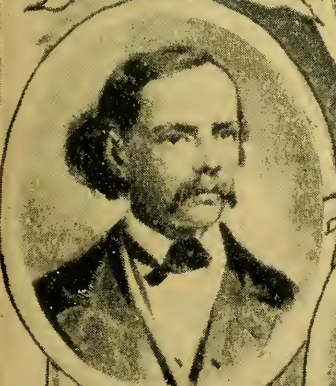
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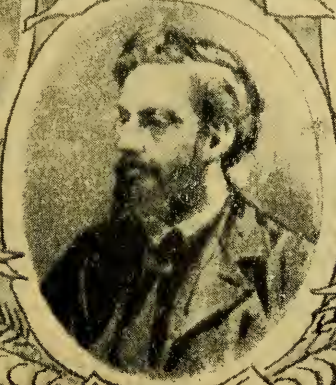
RAOUL RIGAULT



MILLIERE



COURBET



MEGY



children—we are men. You are in the presence of a magistrate. What is your profession?"

"I am a servant of God."

"Where does he live?" interrogated Rigault.

"Everywhere," responded the priest.

"Send this man to the *Conciérgerie*, and issue a warrant for the arrest of his Master, one called God, who has no permanent residence, and is consequently, contrary to law, living in a perpetual state of vagabondage," was Rigault's order.

Other interrogations by Rigault and Dacosta to Archbishop Darboy were made, and when Darboy told them the churches and the furnishings of the churches belonged to the clergy or the church, the questioners did not exhibit much regard for an ownership in property gained by efforts which to them seemed neither useful nor instructive in the community.

During these days a large number of ecclesiastics were arrested, and the churches turned into sleeping places for the Federates. The churches, buildings and valuables were confiscated to the Commune. Many of the edifices were turned into lecture rooms and meeting places for the populace. Louise Michel and Paule Minck were among the most noted of the woman speakers, who addressed the large congregations. Their influence was immense.

The woman who gained the most conspicuous place in the revolt of 1871—Louise Michel—in the popular mind is a virago, bringing in her wake petroleum, dynamite and destruction. In reality, a simple-hearted woman of a mystic temperament, ready to sacrifice her life for an idea, and so generous that she often gave away her own clothes to supply the needs of those poorer than herself. She will be known as a thoroughly good, kind-hearted woman. Governess and school teacher, learned and energetic, her wonderful earnestness and vigor in public address and her humanitarian efforts in nursing the wounded endeared her to friends of the uprising. After the fall of the Commune, she was sentenced to the New Caledonia penal colony, where

she immediately used her extraordinary talents to ameliorate the condition of the colonists and the education of the children. On her return from New Caledonia, she took up her residence in London, and acquired a high regard for the freedom vouchsafed by England. She wrote many historical novels, her "Memoirs," and several other literary works; also two dramas, "Nadine" and "Le Coq Rouge," both of which were successfully produced in Paris. Louise Michel was born at Vroncourt, in the Department of Upper Marne, in 1836. With blue, clear and expressive eyes, and a slow but well modulated delivery, speaking absolutely pure French, her voice for decades proclaimed the tenets of her belief, which made her hated by the privileged classes in every country, and beloved by the proletarians throughout the world.

There was no lack of orators among the supporters of the Commune, and they lost no opportunity for preaching secular doctrines to the people.

The fearless curiosity of the Federates and their audacious invasions of the precincts of the edifices belonging to the church, filled the priests with horror and indignation.* So long accustomed to be revered in all respects, their being placed on a par with ordinary mortals in regard to their property and their persons was an obnoxious surprise for these dignitaries.

This lack of affection for the clergy, and the absence of respect for all things pertaining to religion, are marked features of the Commune. Indeed it is remarkable, that from a population bred in the association of church and state, a body of men so unanimous upon this subject could be elected. Their position was certainly the result of the workers belief in the alliance of the church and their oppressors, and a unanimous opinion as to the utter uselessness of rites, forms, ceremonies,

The clergy are partly to blame for the irreligious attitude of many modern socialists. They have too often made themselves the advocates of conservatism simply as conservatism, regardless of all abuses which it embraced. In countries where Church and State are connected, the clergy have been too often a sort of police, assisting the government to maintain existing institutions, and to oppose change, good or bad. They have favored the higher classes, upon whom their support has depended, and neglected the interests of the poor and down-trodden.—*Richard T. Ely.*

or symbols. The priests were considered simply as parasitical members of the community. In several churches the following notice was posted: "This Shop to Let!" The private property of the clergy was confiscated to the Commune, which procedure was much like that of the Romans in the 4th century, who wished to remove as much as possible the taint of worldliness and the cares of temporal possessions from those whose cares should only be for the spiritual welfare of the people.

The actions of the Commune were proof positive that they subscribed to the skeptical tenets which hold priests to be the advocates of human ignorance and a bar to the progress of the race.

The following notice was posted on the closed doors of the church of St. Pierre, Montmartre :

"Whereas, priests are thieves, and churches are haunts where the masses have been morally assassinated, the ex-Prefecture of Police orders the church of St. Pierre to be closed, and decrees the arrest of the ecclesiastics and ignorantins."

(Signed.)

"Le Moussu."

Two Communal seals were affixed to the paper.

An estimate made at the time indicated the number of the clergy in prison to be 300.

Several churches and unoccupied houses were sacked by the independent military, whose operations the Commune could neither advise nor punish, as their apprehension was almost impossible and their detention, trial or punishment were matters of secondary importance to the repelling of the Versailles.

On April 7th a guillotine was set up and burned in the 11th arrondissement, as an evidence of the detestation felt by the Paris populace for the murderous instrument of tyranny and despotism.

Cluseret was appointed Delegate to the Ministry of War on April 8th.

A Versailles decree published on April 8th announced the appointment of Marshal McMahon to the command of the Assembly's troops.

The *Siecle* on the 8th contained an article in which it showed plainly the almost inevitable defeat of the Paris defence. Attention was called to the fact that the calibre of the guns defending the ramparts was of too light a character to successfully exchange hostilities with the heavy siege guns being planted by the Versaillese. Referring to the operations of April 1st-7th, the inability of the Federates to gain anything by the continuation of outside hostilities, was conclusively shown. The hope for aid from outside districts was indicated to be futile, as reports from emissaries of the Commune were not encouraging. The whole statement in the *Siecle* showed a preception of the situation not exhibited by any of the other papers of the day. The article closed with an appeal for a conciliatory movement as the only hope to avert complete defeat for the Commune.

Between the 2d and 9th days of April the losses of the Federates exceeded 7,000 men.

The Chambers of Commerce of Paris representing 8,000 merchants and traders, probably from business motives, attempted to bring about an amicable arrangement with the Versaillese. But they asked for the autonomy of Paris, of course without avail.

The intolerance of the Assembly's representatives increased as their power extended. The workingmen who had been considered the proper defenders of the honor and interests of Paris against the Germans, were now denounced as criminals for

daring to defend the right of their city to social autonomy.

Many deputations of various peaceably inclined organizations tried to induce a cessation of hostilities, but Thiers, who now had military power, repulsed with increasing firmness any efforts toward reconciliation. It is said that he "received the delegations kindly." But the Versaillese were determined to carry out the programme of death and disgrace marked out for all who had the temerity to oppose the Assembly, now supported by those military chieftains who had proved themselves unable to cope with a foreign invader, but who were ambitious to regain their forever-lost prestige, even by conducting a campaign of extirpation against a portion of their countrymen.

There was a continual bombardment throughout the 9th and 10th. A shell struck the Arc de Triomphe on the 9th, not doing much damage. The Federates made slight gains and occupied the village of Boulogne on the 10th.

M. Jecker, a Mexican banker, was arrested for trying to obtain a passport under a false name.

M. Parisel, member of the Commune, was delegated to gain information regarding the preparation of explosives.* The chemist to whom Parisel applied for information, quietly communicated with the Versaillese, and by dilatory methods prevented the carrying out of some plans which might have been of assistance in the defence.

By a sort of tacit agreement, hostilities were suspended on the night of the 10th-11th. The Federates repaired Porte Maillot, now much damaged by the incessant cannonade.

* March.

Religious services in the prisons were, on the 11th, by the Commune, ordered discontinued.

On the night of the 11th a vigorous assault was made on Fort Vanves and another on Porte Maillot, both without accomplishing any measure of success.

Porte Maillot was heavily bombarded on the 12th. The Federates made some gains in Neuilly, where the fighting was furious at times during the day.

The destruction of the Vendome monument had been advocated by many of the most distinguished Frenchmen, among them A. Comte. M. Picard and others of the Government of the National Defence had believed it incompatible with the overthrow of the Second Empire to allow this staring statue of Imperialism to call to mind the murderous glory of the first Napoleon. Courbet, the painter, was a foremost advocate of its demolition. The Commune added the sentiment of Internationalism to the anti-Imperialist feeling in those who grasped the reins of power after the fall of Louis Napoleon.

April 12th the following decree was issued:

“The Commune of Paris, considering that the Imperial column in the Place Vendome is a monument of barbarism, a symbol of brute force and false glory, an affirmation of militarism, a negation of international law, a permanent insult cast by the victors on the vanquished, a perpetual attack on one of the great principles of the French Republic—Fraternity—decrees the column of the Place Vendome shall be demolished.”

On the 13th the fighting continued with little cessation in the environing villages, Neuilly being the scene of a warm engagement in the latter part

of the day, but the evening showed little gain for either the Federate or Versaillese forces. In the artillery work of the day in connection with the forts, the Federates seem to have made a much better showing than usual. Cluseret's report to the Commune on this day was of a very cheerful character. A battery of the Federates at Trocadero Heights opened on Fort Valerien, and some shots were interchanged.

Jaroslav Dombrowski (brother of General Dombrowski) and his corps were distinguished by capturing the Castle of Bécon, and Vinoy was defeated when he attempted to recover it.

Gustave Chaudey, accused of ordering the firing of January 22d, on the National Guards from the Hotel de Ville, was arrested.

The Convent of Picpus, two distinct buildings—one occupied by monks, the other by nuns*—was invaded by Phillipe Fenouillat, Chief of Legion of the 12th arrondissement. The monks, 13 in number, were arrested and taken to prison.

*At the extreme end of the garden were three little huts, side by side, resembling white ant's nests; and when the convent was first occupied by the National Guards, each of these huts was tenanted by an old woman, enclosed in a wooden cage, like a chicken's pen. The buildings were six feet square by seven in height, with a slate roof, through which daylight was visible. The three old women were hopeless idiots. "The Lady Superior," continued the account, "admitted, when first questioned, that the three sufferers had lived in their hideous prison for some years, in an atmosphere of stifling heat throughout the summer, and half-frozen with cold throughout the winter; 'but,' she added, 'they were idiots when they came.' The conductor of the inquiry replied that, if such were the case, it was illegal to have admitted them to the convent at all, and that, even supposing them to have been admitted, the place where they were found was not a fit dwelling-place for a dog. A key was discovered among her papers, labelled 'key of the great vault;' but where this great vault may be has not yet been found out. The Superior and her nuns keep a uniform and persistent silence upon the point; excavations have been made at different points in the garden, and under the high altar of the chapel, but hitherto without effect." In an isolated building in the nuns' garden were found mattresses furnished with straps and buckles; also two iron corsets, an iron skull-cap, and a species of rack turned by a cog-wheel, apparently intended for bending back the body with force. "The Superior," said the *Times* correspondent, "explained that these were orthopædic instruments—a superficial falsehood. The mattresses and straps struck me as being easily accounted for; I have seen such things used in French midwifery, and in cases of violent delirium; but the rack and its adjuncts are justly objects of grave suspicion, for they imply a

An investigation into the women's department disclosed parts of human skeletons, instruments of torture and others for the procuring of abortion. Three women, in various stages of derangement, were confined in cage-like huts. The Communal authorities were convinced that relations existed between the monks and nuns not consistent with their profession, and that abortion and secret burials were the result of criminal proceedings, and that the forcible violation of women was also common in the institution. These charges were denied by the church authorities, as well as by the "respectable" portion of society. The conclusions of the Communists have not been successfully controverted. The Church of St. Laurent also developed some extraordinary features for a religious institution. These developments made the populace, never too much enamored of the priests and their practices, still more vehement in demands for their eviction from all property and public functions.

M. Rochefort, in the *Mot d'Ordre*, said so far as the property of the church was concerned, "as Christ was born in a stable, the only property which the church should have is a bundle of straw."

The Bank of France was summoned to give up the crown diamonds, the presence of which in

use of brutal force which no disease at present known would justify. Arrived at the entrance gate, our guide nudged me, telling me in whispers to look at the old woman who was wandering about, followed by a younger one, stooping from time to time to pick up a leaf, or rub her hands with sand and gravel. 'That is Sœur Bernardine,' he said, 'one of the three prisoners of the wooden cages. She is the most sane in mind of the three, and we keep her here, under the care of one of our wives, to cheer her up. She is only fifty, though she looks past seventy. The other two have been removed, as they were rendered violent by the crowd and change of scene.' I passed close to her, and she looked up—a soft, pale face, with sunken eyes shaded by the frills of a great cap. She looked at me dazedly, without taking any notice, and, stooping, again filled her hands with refuse coffee-grounds, which she put into her mouth until prevented by her companion."

the bank was indicated by documents in the possession of the Commune's officials. The deputation was told that the diamonds had been sent from Paris before the surrender, to keep them from falling into the hands of the Prussians. This excuse, true or untrue, seems to have satisfied the Commune.

In the early days of the struggle, the force of the Assembly was not of such magnitude nor loyalty but that the immense funds in the Bank of France could have won most of it, not only from the Versaillese, but to the defence of Paris. There probably never was a time but that the huge amounts of money and negotiable securities could have been so placed as to win from their allegiance the foremost of the opponents of the Commune, if we may judge by the financial and political records of most of them. It may be safely insisted that on no one point was the imbecility of the Commune so nakedly exposed as in their puerile conduct in allowing themselves to be so continually stultified by their soft-hearted agent and the bank officials.

Funds there were in abundance, but the intelligent courage to grasp and use them was not present. The hope that the National Guards in the bank would fraternize; the humane desire to prevent the fratricidal results of a forcible seizure; and a fear of bourgeois opinion, all held them from the taking of the deposits. These halting opinions were flagrant errors in the Commune.*

The vigorous attack on Fort Vanves on the night of the 15th-16th may be properly said to have been a failure, though a great loss of life was the result on both sides. On the 16th Eudes,

*See Commune and the Bank.

commanding the forts on the South, reported to Cluseret: "Our Federals are heroes; they fought like lions; the victory is one with pride to be inscribed upon the banner of the Commune; Vanves was the center of the attack; the Governor of the Fortress of Vanves, Citizen Leroux, deserves special mention." The 86th battalion and Commandant Leroux of Vanves were specially mentioned by Cluseret in the reports of the day.

On the 15th, the Trocadero batteries, which were poorly manned, opened fire on Valerien and on Longchamps, where the Versailles reserves were camped; the exceptionally fine marksmanship of the gunners in the fort soon temporarily silenced them.*

The fighting was heavy in Levallois; parts of the village were occupied by both armies. In this engagement the Federates made no gains, though assisted by mitrailleuses mounted on cars.

Operations of the Assembly's force now showed marked improvement; Marshal McMahon had organized his troops into three corps, commanded respectively by Generals Cisse, Ladmirault and Du Barial. Each corps was composed of three divisions. General Vinoy was given charge of the reserve, which was also in three divisions, and to which another division was subsequently added.

The Versailles were moving rapidly in the completion of works by which their troops might be sheltered in their advancing attacks upon the city's defences.

*The establishment of the battery at Trocadero is said to have had a double purpose. To damage or silence Fort Valerien seemed its object, but the fact that it drew the fire of the fort on the district of Passy, which had refused to assist in the support of the Commune, gave rise to the belief that the battery had been placed for that purpose. Great damage was done in Passy by Valerien's shells; and after some days of cannonading, the inhabitants protested to the Commander of the fort and the shells thereafter were much more infrequent. The Trocadero battery did little damage to the fort or to the enemy.

At the station Colombes, where a severe engagement took place, the railway batteries protected the retreat of a body of Federates which otherwise must have been cut off by Versaillesse cavalry.

On Sunday, the 16th of April, the Belgian legation was invaded by Federates. This unwarranted and impolitic proceeding apparently went unpunished, although the *Journal Officiel* declared the Commune's intention of bringing the offenders before a Council of War.

Elections to fill 31 vacancies in the Commune, caused by resignation, etc., were held April 16th, and called out less than half the vote of the last previous election.

In this election 61,000 votes were cast in arrondissements which had on March 26th returned 146,000 votes.

The election laws required an eighth of the votes for a candidate to elect; the smallness of the vote left six vacancies unfilled under this rule, and on April 17th the Commune by a vote of 26 to 13, declared elected those candidates receiving the majority of votes cast. Twenty were elected, three—Menotti Garibaldi, (son of General Garibaldi) Rogeard and Briosne never took their seats.

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE CENTRAL—G. Arnold, Pottier, Viard	3
COMMITTEE OF THE 20 ARRONDISSEMENTS—A. Dupont, Cluseret, Johannard, Longuet, Pillot, Sicard	6
JOURNALISTS—Vesinier, Andrieu, Longuet	3
SPEAKERS AT CLUB AND PUBLIC MEETINGS—Trinquet, Dereure, Serailier, Philippe, Lonclas, Johannard, Durand, Pottier	8
Johannard, Durand, and Pottier also belonged to the International Association	3
Total	17

On the 17th a Military Commission was instituted, with Rossel as President, with full powers of punishment from the death penalty downward. At a sitting of this Military Court Cluseret asked some questions, but was interrupted and told that he was now expected to answer questions, and he was immediately asked "Why some battalions on the ramparts had no shoes and had been fed on salt meat for 15 days?"

Unauthorized troops, "Flourens Avengers," "Avengers of Paris," etc., attempted to hold place in the Commune's commissary, without being amenable to the discipline of the Federates. These guerrilla bands brought the Federates into general disrepute; for, while the latter confined its operations to searches and seizures of arms, provisions, etc., for the benefit of the defending forces, the irregular bodies foraged, consumed and destroyed, giving but little heed to any authority, and assisting, (with some exceptions,) but slightly in defensive operations.

An attempt at systemization was now made in the official conduct of the Commune, the work of the committees originally selected not having been properly defined; but the results did not show much improvement.

On the 17th an important engagement took place at Asnières, in which the Federates were driven back, abandoning barricades and trenches. A rout ensued; many squads were cut off from the main force and captured by the Versaillese cavalry; one of the locomotive batteries was disabled by a cannon shot, and the railway track was blocked by the wreck. The pontoon bridge was cut while many had not yet crossed, and a large number lost their lives endeavoring to swim the Seine, while many were killed and many taken

prisoners. The Federates rallied under Dombrowski, and made a desperate attempt to retrieve the fortunes of the day. They were unsuccessful, though the charge was one of the most courageous recorded in the annals of war.

The Versaillese under Colonel Davoust, Duc d' Auerstadt, (a grandson of the great Napoleon's marshal of the same name) carried the Chateau Bécon. This action was made the subject of special mention by Thiers in a dispatch to the Sub-Prefects.

General Van Pape, German Commander at St. Denis, speaking to a correspondent said the Prussians would not interfere unless the triumph of the Commune should jeopardize the payment of the indemnity.*

On the 18th of April the "Union Republicaine of Paris" published an address condemning the Assembly for failing to give guarantees for the maintenance of the Republic or the establishment of Communal liberty.

Little fighting was done on the 18th on account of heavy rain. Fort Valerien did some exceedingly effective cannonading. Many persons were injured in the city by the bursting of shells.

On the 19th there appeared in the *Journal Officiel*, the Manifesto of the Commune, which had been prepared by a committee of five commissioned for that purpose. Pierre Denis, a journalist, and Delescluze are credited with its composition. The

On April 4th Paschal Grousset addressed to General Fabrice some inquiries regarding the progress of the payment of the indemnities by the Assembly, and the probabilities of evacuation of some territory held by the Germans. This epistle was not answered by Fabrice. He turned it over to M. Favre, who visited at Rouen a few days after its receipt. Favre said he was "overcome with civilities" at the German headquarters by General Fabrice. On April 10th M. Favre read Grousset's communication to Fabrice before the Assembly. It was read in tones so undignified and with postures and gestures so grotesque as to cause great merriment among the members. Favre was ridiculed by the *Gaulois* for his attempts to bring contempt upon Grousset, and said that Favre surpassed Frederic Lemaître, the actor.

doctrine of decentralization, the entire autonomy of Communes, whether large or small, and some vague ideas of centralized representation by Communes were incorporated in the document. The Manifesto closed with these words: "As for ourselves, Citizens of Paris, we have a mission to accomplish, a modern revolution, the greatest and most fruitful of all those which have illuminated history."

Their economic and political surroundings, as well as their reasonable and honorable opinion that the conduct of war in civilization is disgraceful to all concerned, accounts in large degree for the wavering course and unscientific procedure in the offensive and defensive operations by the Communists in Paris. The conflicts between the contrary instincts of humanity and passion were, except in the last days, almost universally given to the milder attribute. A hope for reconciliation was, almost until the end, apparent in Paris. This ignis-fatuus was largely the result of the specious acceptance of negotiations by the Versaillese, who diplomatically considered and suavely delayed all conciliatory plans. Every days' delay was for the Assembly's advantage.

Deputations were sent out to solicit help from the other large cities; the imperfectness of the plans offered, the uncertain character of instruction to the Commune's representatives, and the growing strength of the troops at Versailles made this mission of no great ultimate value to the Parisian government. The amount of money placed at the disposal of this service has been stated at 100,000 francs (almost \$20,000). The imbecility of setting aside such a pittance when so much depended on this mission is not at variance with many other evidences of the continual oversight of the liberal

programme which the funds of the Bank of France placed at the Commune's disposal.

A correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing on April 17th, said that private crime had wonderfully diminished. "In such a state of society," he remarked, "it might be expected that individuals would take advantage of public disturbance and the dislocation of authority, to pursue their own private ends, robbing and killing at their pleasure. But here, on the contrary—it may be from terror—the people are so well behaved (putting their political passions out of account) that I never felt more secure than I do now."

"The Communal Guards taken in arms were now being tried at Versailles. They were confined in cellars under the stables of the Château d'Artois, and their examination was conducted before a Judge of Instruction, who sat in a large room on the ground-floor of the barracks facing the château, and who was assisted by five younger magistrates. The treatment of these prisoners was characterized by all that disregard of fairness which is commonly observed in the proceedings of French courts. The Judge, in accordance with the habit of those functionaries in France, reviled the accused much as Sir Edward Coke reviled Sir Walter Raleigh on his trial for high-treason. Coke, however, was not the Judge, but the prosecuting counsel; so that the case was not so bad, though bad enough. Some old men among the captured Communal troops asked permission to sit down. The Judge refused, and one of the Assistant-Judges exclaimed, "Wretches who engage in such a cause as yours have no claim upon the indulgence of the authorities. Stand where you are, and let there be no shifting to either

right or left. We want to see your faces in all their ignominy of expression." " *"

On the 19th there was lively fighting at many points, particularly at Neuilly, Asnières and Clichy.

A body of Federates, bent on recovering the bridge at Neuilly, pushed a battery of six guns up within a short distance of the Versaillese at this point and opened fire on them unawares. This manœuvre proved unfortunate for the Federates. They were charged furiously by superior numbers, lost their guns and fled. The cannon were turned against them, and they were mercilessly pursued to the gates, volleys of grape-shot being poured into their broken ranks as they ran. Their losses were terrible; each of the battalions engaged lost one-third of its men. This was one of the bloodiest battles and was most disastrous to the Federates. The official reports of the Federate officers in charge were misleading as to the real character of the engagement, merely mentioning it as a sortie, but calling for 2,000 more men.

On the 19th the Committee Central of the National Guard issued an address to the people of Paris and the Federates, which began by saying that "false rumors of disagreement between the two powers had prevailed and that from that day the Committee Central entered upon its functions in the administration of war!"

Le Sociele demanded the impeachment of the Members of the Committee Central, and the suppression of the body, and the radical press in general seemed to be inimical to this Committee.

A kind of armistice was observed at Neuilly on the 20th, on behalf of the inhabitants, who, being afraid of issuing out of their cellars, lest they should be shot, ran great risk of perishing

with hunger. Indeed, it is said that some actually died in their subterranean retreats.

An artillery duel took place on the 20th between Fort Valerien and the Federates at the Porte Maillot. As usual the former was much more accurate and effective in gunnery, and the intrepidity of the defenders of the gate has been the wonder of all acquainted with the extreme danger of the position.

At the bridge of Clichy a sharp engagement took place, slightly favorable to the Federates. The Versaillaise also made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the bridge at Asnières, which was defeated by the use of Federate field guns.

A shot fell into and exploded the powder magazine of the Federates near the Porte d'Asnières, doing great damage to persons and property.

There were rumors of an attempt to overthrow the Communal Government, and four battalions of Federates were stationed in the Luxembourg as a precaution against any uprising which might be attempted.

Dombrowski was chagrined at the apathy shown by Cluseret; Rossel was disgusted with the latter's laxity of discipline and failure in the proper organizations of the commissary. All affairs connected with the war were in a highly unsatisfactory condition. Complaints to the Commune were incessant.

A Commission for the Control of the War was appointed April 21st, consisting of Delescluze, Tridon, Avrial, Ranvier and Arnold. Bergeret was released from prison. Pyat sent in his resignation to the Commune, alleging dissatisfaction with its proceedings. Some of his colleagues accused him of resigning to escape responsibility for the Commune's actions, which accusation,

judging from Pyat's general character, was probably true. Delescluze here said that others displeased with the detail work, would not desert, but "if necessary, find death at the ramparts defending the cause."

Sharp quarrels were taking place in the Commune. Vermorel and Pyat exchanged heated words. Pyat was denounced as being the cause of the failure of the attempt to overthrow the government on October 31st. Vermorel charged Pyat with seeking to evade the results of the Commune's proceedings. Its formation had been advocated by Pyat, who had advised in his paper the most extreme measures. Pyat, whose threat to resign was the cause of these recriminations, decided to retain his seat.

A Commission of Police Control was appointed—Cournet, Ferré and Trinquet. Rigault, jealous of any infringement on his power as Prefect, resigned; Cournet was appointed in his stead, and Rigault was assigned to Cournet's place on the Commission of Control, which really left Rigault in power as before.

The Executive Committee of the Commune was changed from its previous form, to that of nine members, one each from the Commissions, and the following delegates were named:

Delegate of War—CLUSERET.

Finance—JOURDE.

Subsistence—VIARD.

Exterior Relations—GROUSSET.

Labor and Exchange—FRANKEL.

Justice—PROTOT.

Public Service—ANDRIEU.

Information—VALLIANT.

General Surety—RIGAULT.

A Committee of practical jewelers met at the Ministry of Finance to examine and estimate the

value of a number of sapphires and pearls found in the building. Two of the pearls were as large as pigeon-eggs, and the whole collection was estimated at many millions of francs.

Twelve unfriendly journals were suppressed by the Commune.

An advance of the Federates on the 21st at the Park of Neuilly seemed successful, the Versailles falling back. The Federates, flushed with success, were pressing on, when they were enfiladed by masked batteries of Gatling guns, which piled the road with the dead, and threw into the wildest disorder the troops who had escaped so imminent a danger. They fled to the barricades, and were met by the fixed bayonets of the Federate reserves. They again charged the murderous engines which no human line could overcome. Driven back, their retreat became a rout; it was with difficulty they obtained admittance into the city, and that only by force at the St. Ouen gate. Wagon loads of the dead were brought in. Omnibusses and other conveyances were requisitioned for transportation of the wounded, whose number was enormous.

This terrible slaughter was followed in the city by almost innumerable funerals, and the scenes of death and the mournful corteges were being felt as lessening the vigor of the Federates, who complained loudly of the unsystematic distribution of troops, of ammunition and of supplies, blaming their ill-success upon the Commune and all subordinate authorities, and in many instances charging their commanders with betrayal.

On the night of the 22d, an advance was made by the Versailles, who threw large bodies of troops across the Seine above Clichy, intending to

take Clichy and Levallois, thus cutting off that portion of the Federates on the right from the balance of the army. Dombrowski, by a vigorous and skillful disposition and movement of his troops, checkmated this operation and proved himself to be vigilant as well as valorous.

Skirmishes only were reported on the 23d.

The Assembly now took measures to prevent even a desire for conciliation to be made public through publications of any kind in France.* It was thus made plain that it was not peace, but the downfall of Parisian autonomy that was desired.†

Cluseret requested an armistice on the 24th to bury the dead and allow the escape of the non-combatant inhabitants of Neuilly. The Federates supposed the terms and date were understood, but they were fired on when they commenced peaceful operations, and suffered considerable loss; being pressed, a determined stand was made, and the fighting resulted in great loss of life but no advantage was gained either side.

Thiers, during the negotiation looking to an armistice, said: "As soon as the Germans evacuate the forts on the North I shall bombard Paris; the legitimate authority must be upheld; the power of this calumniated Assembly shall be maintained at any cost."

Thiers visited St. Denis on the 24th, and had a long interview with the Crown Prince of Saxony and General Fabrice; he informed them that the Versailles army numbered 150,000 men,

*M. Dufaure, Minister of Justice, with the assent of the Assembly on April 23d, issued orders to the procurators of the provinces to proceed against all journalists inimical to the Assembly government. "Some," said M. Dufaure, "attacked the institutions of society openly and without reserve; others more dangerous still, impart to their criticisms a semblance of conciliation." It was evident that opposition or voices for conciliation would not be tolerated by the Assembly.

†See Modern Paris in another chapter.

and that they would be thoroughly prepared by the 1st of May.

On April 17th Thiers had issued a proclamation in which he said: "We persist in our system of temporization for two reasons, which we can avow; first of all, to collect forces so imposing that resistance will be impossible, and therefore *not sanguinary*; and secondly, to leave misled men the time to return to reason."

Hostilities were suspended on April 25th to allow the inhabitants of Neuilly (where the fighting had been heavy and almost continuous since April 1st) to leave their houses. Their homes had been alternately held by Federates and Versaillese, and the cellars had been the residence of the greatest part of the population for many days.

A committee of four was chosen, two by each of the opposing parties. M. Bonvalet, ex-Mayor 3d arrondissement, and M. Stupuy, a literary man, were the Commune's representatives; M. Adam and M. Loiseau-Pinson (both of whom had resigned as members of the Commune) were the Versaillese representatives. This Committee was charged with attending to the carrying out of the essentials of the agreement for the armistice. The village was visited during this day of peace by crowds from Paris, among them many women, and the scenes of suffering witnessed and the acts of kindness performed would require many pages to narrate. At 5 p. m. hostilities were resumed. One writer says: "Nearly all the ruins were filled with dead insurgents, more or less in a state of decomposition; most of them had received bullet holes through the head, killed in the act of firing over the barricades or through loop-

holes."* The floors of many of the houses in Neuilly were soaked with blood.

On the 26th the Versaillese showed their real strength in their attacks upon the forts. They had been advancing lines of heavy guns and had almost reduced Issy to silence. It is said there were breaches in the redoubts of this fort through which a carriage might have been driven.

The gunboats of the Federates on the Seine were of great service, doing much execution and sheltering themselves beneath the railway viaducts. One of these, the *Liberty*, being of light draft, was particularly active, running out, firing, and returning to cover to reload.

The fierceness of the cannonade increased on the 27th, Montrouge and Issy being the principal objects of assault. "Issy, though dismantled, and, in spite of its escarpes tumbling into the ditch and its ruined barracks, still fought with desperation, throwing shell on Tour-des-Anglais, Clamart and Meudon. Montrouge was scarcely better off than Issy."

The practices of the Versaillese were exemplified on April 27th. Four Federates were captured. The captain of the Versaillese company, drawing his revolver, killed three of the prisoners and shot the other—Captain Scheffer—through the chest; he fell as if dead, but recovered sufficiently to escape to the Federate ranks.† Yet reprisals were forbidden by Federates as "not according to civilized warfare."

*As the Versaillese officers made a practice of shooting the prisoners through the head with their pistols, (rather than be troubled with their detention or than to lessen their forces by detailing a guard to conduct prisoners to the rear,) the bullet holes in the heads are otherwise explainable.

†When Tolain interpellated War Minister Le Flo upon this matter in the Assembly, his voice was drowned by the howling of members, and Le Flo was, by the Assembly, forbidden to answer.

Severe fighting took place on the West of Paris on the 28th.

Thiers made a speech in the Assembly. He again and again declared his undying fealty to France, and in shielding himself from rumors of his attempts to re-establish the Orleanists, he was moved to tears and was encouraged by cries of "Go on!" "Go on!" As he related his sacrifices for his country he was again deeply moved. He closed this emotional address by avowing his intention of carrying out the wishes of the Assembly. As a dramatic effort this oration is said to have been of great merit.

Constant precautions were taken as the Versaillesse gained ground to prevent the escape of any persons from the city. By the end of April Thiers had stopped provisions from coming into the city through the gates controlled by the Versaillesse. But the neutral zone between the German lines and the walls was sufficient to scantily supply the city. The Department of Subsistence had no very great difficulties.

The National Guards, loyal to the Versaillesse, were constantly under suspicion, and any show of consideration for the prisoners was looked upon as treason. The soldiers of the line, (whose numbers were constantly augmented by the prisoners who arrived from Germany by Bismarck's orders,) were, to some extent, animated by a desire to conquer, and hoped by their valor and atrocities here, to somewhat atone before the world for their ignominious defeat by the Germans. Those who expressed sympathy for the Commune and for relatives of Communists, were treated with no pity; many were secretly killed and others, after a farcical trial, were executed at Versailles.

No more significant occurrence was to be observed during the Commune's regime than the determined stand taken in affairs by the Masonic fraternity in Paris. On April 26th they had decided, in mass meeting, to employ all means "to obtain the Communal liberties of Paris." On the 29th, 10,000 of them, representing 55 lodges, paraded. Members of the Commune, decorated with red sashes bordered with gold lace, reviewed the procession from the Court of Honor at the Hotel de Ville. It was decided to make one more attempt to obtain a peaceful arrangement with the Versailles. "A balloon was sent up which let fall at intervals outside Paris, a manifesto of the Masons."

M. Beslay, who for 56 years had been a Mason, made a vigorous and humane speech, insisting upon the necessity of the Freemasons of the city assisting in "arranging immediate terms of peace or of furnishing the city with their arms to defeat its enemies." He asked the honor of accompanying the delegation as the senior member of the Commune and the senior Mason of Paris.

Citizen Léo Meillet then said:—"You have just heard the only music to which we can listen before a definite peace. Here is the red flag which the Commune of Paris offers to the Masonic deputations. This flag should accompany your pacific banners; it is the flag of universal peace. It is the flag of the Commune of Paris, which the Commune is about to confide to the Freemasons."

Citizen Terifocq took the red flag from the hands of Citizen Léo Meillet, addressed the assembly the following words:—"Citizens, brothers; I am of those who took the initiative to go and plant the standard of peace on our ramparts. We will

say: Soldiers of the same country, come and fraternize with us; and if peace is accomplished, we will return to Paris convinced that we have gained the most glorious victory—that of humanity! If, on the contrary, we are not heard, but are fired upon, we will call every vengeance to our aid. We are certain that we shall be heard, and that the Masonry of all the provinces of France will follow our example. We are sure that in whatever part of the country our brothers see troops directed upon Paris, they will go to meet them and call upon them to fraternize.”

Five members of the Commune, selected by lot, were in the procession, which was followed by 40,000 or 50,000 citizens to the Arc d’Triomphe. A shower of shells fell here, killing many persons and wounding many others. These shells were fired in reply to a cannonade from Porte Maillot. The deputation placed its banner on the wall at Porte Maillot; the Versaillese commander at this point was a Freemason and ceased firing after the flag was planted. He explained to the deputation that the cessation of firing was necessarily only temporary. The delegates were furnished, by this commander with a carriage, in which they proceeded to Versailles to interview M. Thiers.

The delegates were received by M. Thiers, who replied: “There will be a few more houses shelled, and a few more men killed, but force must remain to the law.” In answer to a communication afterwards sent to him, he declared that he had nothing to add to his previous reply.

From its inability to obtain fresh horses, the deputation was forced to return to Paris on foot, where they arrived at 6 o’clock in the morning on the 30th.

The action of Thiers toward the committee showed all peace endeavors to be fruitless; and the Parisian Freemasons prepared to, and did thereafter, assist materially in the defence of the city.

On April 29th Mégy deserted Fort Issy. Cluseret ordered it re-occupied immediately on being apprised of the evacuation. But suspicion had fastened on Cluseret, and he was at once arrested and Rossel installed as Delegate of War. He at once instituted a second system of barricades, the construction of which was put in charge of Napoleon Gaillard, who, to enthusiasm in the cause added knowledge and industry, and the work was conducted with vigor and apparent ability.

Nothing was ever done with Mégy for his desertion of Issy.

Cluseret had made himself generally unpopular. Some of the newspapers had made an attack upon him, intimating that he only waited an opportunity to declare himself dictator; that a "coup d'etat" might be expected, etc. Nothing can be found to justify these insinuations; they were probably used to drive him from the head of the War Department. Dombrowski and some other officers had tendered their resignations, but withdrew them after Cluseret's displacement.

Cluseret was a Frenchman by birth and a naturalized American citizen. He was naturalized under the special act of Congress which provides for the naturalization of any one who had been two years in the military service of the United States. He had been made a Brigadier-General by President Lincoln upon the recommendation of Senator Sumner, who described Cluseret as a "gallant Frenchman who had come over to fight for the cause of the Union." He was never given a position in the Union Army commensurate with the rank of Brigadier-General, but was assigned to an obscure post in Baltimore by Secretary Stanton. He was for some time attached to the staff of General Fremont. Cluseret was with the Fenians in the

attack on Chester Castle in England in 1867, and afterwards was again in America, returning to France in 1870. Early in October, Cluseret walked out of Paris through the German lines, and was presently installed General-in-Chief of the National Guards at Marseilles. He soon returned to Paris and became prominent in the Communal uprising. The unserviceability of the War Department under Cluseret is a prominent feature in the Commune's history. He is accused of insincerity as well as of incapacity, and from his conduct in office and in the last days, we are not impressed with a very high regard for either his military talents or his earnestness in the Communal cause. No record shows to us what Cluseret's ability was in handling troops in the field; but, if we may judge from the accounts of his life and character, he was more the diplomat than the soldier. His occupation is given by one writer* as an artist and by others as an agitator. In writing to Varlin from New York, on the 17th of February, 1870, Cluseret observed:—"You say success is certain. So it is if we prepare the ground beforehand. When the day arrives, we shall be ready; physically as well as morally ready. When that day shall come, it will be either us or nothing. Paris will be ours, or Paris will have ceased to be."

In Lyons on April 30th, a manifesto was issued in which it was stated that pending an election, the Red Republican Party had appointed a temporary Commune, which "would no longer suffer a factious Assembly to wave in France the flag of civil war, but that in the meanwhile the members of the Commune 'resolved, rather than to see victory taken from them, to convert into a mass of ruins a town sufficiently cowardly to allow Paris and the Republic to be assassinated.'"

Furious fighting occurred in Lyons on April 30th and May 1st; the Guards fought desperately behind barricades. They were outnumbered, and after suffering much loss, were forced to surrender. After the defeat the National Guards were disarmed.

Millière, who had worked hard to organize the provincials in Paris ever since the early part

*Latimer.

of April, induced the "Republican Alliance of the Departments," consisting of provincials residing in Paris, to give a formal adhesion to the Commune; on the 30th of April, 15,000 men accompanying Milliére to the Hotel de Ville, after having voted an address to the departments.

Various requisitions had been made upon the Bank of France during the month of April. The amounts demanded by the Commune had rarely been paid in full, but with these monies, and the regular revenues, the expenses of the municipality had been carried on.

The limits of this work preclude the possibility of a detailed recital of all the sanguinary contests of this struggle. But, from the records of the events of the conflict, sufficient has been already narrated to show the lack of discipline, lack of military leadership and lack of orderly attention in the distribution of ammunition and supplies for the Federates. Their courage at times was marvelous; their losses were appalling. The result of April's war operations were neither creditable nor favorable to the Commune. There is no evidence that the prisoners taken in battle by the Federates were treated otherwise than with the consideration due to prisoners of war.

On the other hand, the trained warriors of the Assembly's force were gaining steadily and surely. Their operations were conducted with precision and skillful purpose. Nor can it be said that, in the later days, the Versaillese troops were less brave than were the Federates; the former, however, were guided by men who depended much more upon strategic procedure than upon the valor of the soldiery. But to this cautious wisdom in combat there was added, by both officers and men

of the Versaillese, a ferocious and disgraceful ill-treatment of prisoners that has left a record of helpless slain and needless suffering which those most friendly to the Assembly have sought in vain to justify or to extenuate. The Federates taken prisoners were the objects by which brutal abuse and assassination were established as precedents in "civilized" warfare—inexpressibly mournful at best, and enormous in these iniquities. The murders of prisoners in April were as unnecessary as they were atrocious. The annals of extermination by the Assembly's troops would indicate their belief to have been that they were at war with wild beasts and not with human beings—men bound to them by a thousand ties of interest and of consanguinity.

"War—it may be summed up to be the combination and concentration of all the horrors, atrocities, crimes and sufferings of which human nature, on this globe, is capable." No wars have been so sad as civil strifes; certainly not one of these ever furnished a chronicle redder in blood or blacker in atrocities than did the revolt of 1871.

V.

May 1-20—The Fall of the Forts.

On May 1st, the commander of the forces attacking Fort Issy, (who was a former comrade of Rossel's,) sent him this message: "Immediate surrender of Issy will obtain for its defenders the rights of prisoners of war; otherwise the fort will be taken and the men shot." To which Rossel replied: "If you again send such an insolent message, I shall have your messenger shot in conformity with military usage."

Miot, in the Commune's sitting, introduced a proposition for the election of a Committee of Public Safety to consist of five members; 44 members voted in favor of this proposal and 24 against it. Antoine Arnaud, Léo Meillet, Gabriel Ranvier, Felix Pyat and Charles Gerardin were elected. Those who voted against the Committee's formation, refused to take part in the election of its members. The nine heads of departments remained in office, notwithstanding the Committee of Public Safety was given full powers to act, although instituted especially to attend to the affairs of the war. Jourde and others refrained from attending the sittings of the Commune, being opposed to the delegating of full powers to the Committee of Public Safety.*

Rossel, who was a methodical tactician, attempted some improvements in discipline, and

* This committee was instituted in imitation of one of the same name in the revolution of 1789.

consequently was unpopular with the Federates. Neither their organization nor their disposition had improved since the siege began.

The Chateau d'Issy had been taken on the 30th of April by the Versaillese, and on May 1st the Communists retook it. On the advance of the Versaillese on the 2d, the Federates made a sortie to meet them and in the action took nearly 300 prisoners and inflicted great losses on their antagonists. They seemed to have achieved a decisive victory and were preparing to silence a battery between the Chateau and the fort. Their three battalions, advancing in the early morning, were met by an overwhelming force, which drove the Federates from the Chateau and to the gates of the city. The pursuers inflicted great losses on the fugitives, who were denied admission, an order being operative that no Federate should be allowed to pass in. The Federates threatened to fire on the guard at the gate, but finally scattered and joined other battalions in the vicinity.

The station at Clamart also fell into the hands of the Versaillese after a sharp engagement. Hand-to-hand conflicts were common, and when the Federates left the field, more than 200 of their men were dead, nearly all killed by either bayonet or sword.

Attempts were made through various sources to arrange the exchange of Archbishop Darboy and three or four others of the hostages for Blanqui. United States Minister Washburn was particularly active in this affair; he was granted passes by Rigault and Cluseret to visit Mgr. Darboy in prison. Mr. Washburn, contrary to the prison regulations, brought wine and other articles into the prison for the Archbishop. All advances in relation to the exchange were apparently

less summarily considered than were the applications by peace deputations, but that Thiers even seriously considered the propositions of exchange is very doubtful.*

Thiers evidently took the position regarding the exchange of prisoners, that, if the hostages were not executed, it would be evidence enough that there was no need of an exchange; if, on the other hand they were executed, it would be sufficient evidence of the necessity of the drastic measure so well planned and so determinedly carried out.

On May 2d Fort Issy was three times as strong in men as when evacuated by Megy, but the condition of the fort and armament was such that a vigorous defense was not even intended. However, the Versaillese advance was checked while the defences at the ramparts were strengthened.

Rossel, on this day, sent a letter to several Paris papers in which he denied anything except the most friendly feeling between himself and Cluseret, and further said: "I feel bound not to make myself, by my silence, an accomplice to the malevolent rumors to which General Cluseret may be exposed in the unfortunate position in which he is placed, until the justice of the Commune has passed upon his acts." This appearance of fairness raised Rossel in the estimation of the populace.

Rigault was vigorous in the suppression of spying and intriguing in favor of Versailles, and his acts of arrests and methods of imprisonment were distasteful to some of the members of the Commune. He was told that secret imprisonment

*A message was sent to Versailles stating that unless a million francs (\$200,000) were paid as a ransom for the Archbishop of Paris, he would be killed."—*Cassell*.

was immoral. To these objections he made that famous answer, so often quoted: "War is immoral, yet we fight."

The Versaillese on May 3d had a plan by which a gate of the city was to be opened. This failed, much to the chagrin of Thiers, who was persistent in attempts to buy an entrance. There is a suspicion, not well established by records, that some of the Commune's members took the Versaillese money, but failed to open the gates, which, in any event, were never opened by the means the Assembly's agents so unceasingly employed.

May 4th, the Federates in Moulin-Saquet redoubt, (one of the Commune's strongest positions garrisoned by between 600 and 800 men,) were surprised by a force of 1,200 Versaillese. Half the Federate force was butchered in cold blood, large numbers being bayoneted while not yet awake—overcome by days and nights of sleepless activity. Rossel blamed General Wroblewski for absenting himself from the fortification; and there was a clash of authority; it was proven that Fèlix Pyat, of the Committee of Public Safety, had ordered Wroblewski to leave the fort, although Pyat denied it until his written order was produced. Wroblewski was exonerated.

Thiers detailed this massacre to the Assembly with unseemly joy as soon as he was made aware of the facts.

The surprise of Moulin-Saquet has been ascribed to many methods. One was that Versaillese disguised as peasants drove a herd of cattle up to the fort, the gates were opened, they rushed in and massacred the inmates. Another story was that a body of Assembly's troops presented themselves, dressed in the uniform of the National Guard, and on pretence of being a patrol party,

gave the countersign and gained admittance. The affair has been accounted for by the statement that the commandant or an officer had divulged the watchword in a coffee house. It has also been said that the affair was the result of bribery. Gallien, the commander was accused of having sold the countersign to the enemy.* There were vehement complaints of treachery. The lassitude which allowed the surprise was discreditable, but the butchery by the victors was nothing less than infamous—a slaughter of helpless men, scarcely equalled in atrocity in the annals of the wars of savages. There has never been a doubt that all of the 300 or 400 men slain while asleep (or drunk, as some writers say), at Moulin-Saquet could have been taken prisoners. Few of the garrison escaped, most of those not killed being captured. The redoubt was cannonaded by Forts Ivry and Bicêtre as soon as the situation was made known to them, and a large body of Federates soon drove the Versaillese from the works, the latter taking with them their prisoners and six cannon, for the transportation of which they had come provided with horses.

A deputation of the *Republican Union* interviewed Thiers on the 4th, but were met with the usual evasions. The Commune was also interviewed by a deputation of the same body, but no basis of conciliation could be agreed upon.

Nearly 100 men were sent to prison for insubordination on May 5th. The plate taken from the churches and silver ingots were minted, by order of the Commune. Seven papers, inimical to the Commune, were ordered suppressed; but this order, like many others, was not systematically carried out. Some newspapers ordered

* Fetridge.

suppressed in the morning were allowed to be sold on the streets in the evening.

A decree for the demolition of the Expiatory Chapel of Louis XVI, to be carried out within eight days, was passed by the Commune, which designated the administrator of the public lands as the recipient of the profits from the sale of the material and contents of the chapel.

There was continual friction between the Committee of Public Safety, the Committee Central and the Delegate of War.

General Dombrowski was assigned to the command of the right bank of the Seine; General La Cécilia between the Seine and the left bank of the Bièvre, with the title of General of the Center; General Wroblewski, the left wing; General Bergeret, commander of the First Reserve Brigade; General Eudes, the command of Second Reserve Brigade. The officers named were given interior headquarters as follows:

DOMBROWSKI—*Place Vendôme.*

LA CECILIA—*Military School.*

WROBLEWSKI—*The Elysee.*

EUDES—*Legion of Honor.*

BERGERET—*Legislative Hall.*

The territory west of the city was being occupied by the Versaillese, who made great gains on the 5th, a large number of minor engagements taking place. The Federates, resisting stubbornly, were gradually giving way before the superior forces of disciplined, fresh and well-supplied troops.

Skirmishes in the Park at Bagneux and at Neuilly resulted adversely to the Federate forces. The Assembly's troops were now entrenched 300 yards from Porte Maillot. The railway between Forts Vanves and Issy was taken in the night of

5th-6th; this cut off communication between the forts.

The Federates lost much ground on the 6th.

On Sunday, the 7th, Thiers issued a proclamation addressed to the Parisians from which the following is an extract: "The Government which speaks to you would have preferred that you should liberate yourselves from a few tyrants who are playing with your liberties and your lives; but since you cannot do so, it must itself undertake the duty; And for that purpose it has collected an army beneath your walls—an army which comes, at the price of its blood, not to conquer, but to deliver you. Up to the present time it has confined itself to attacking the outer walls. The moment has now arrived when, to abridge your sufferings, it must attack the *enciente* itself. It will not bombard Paris, as the people of the Commune and Committee of Public Safety will not fail to tell you it intends. A bombardment threatens a whole city, and renders it uninhabitable, and has for its object to intimidate the citizens, and constrain them to a capitulation. The Government will not fire a cannon except to force one of your gates, and will endeavor to limit to the point attacked, the ravages of war of which it is not the author."

A grand concert was given in several halls in the Tuilleries on Sunday night the 7th, for the benefit of the families of the killed or wounded Federates. Those who gained admission were compelled to stand in line an hour, and many who purchased tickets were unable to enter.* The receipts were more than \$2,400.

*"Ten thousand people filled all the apartments, wandering everywhere at their ease, and examining into every nook and corner of the vast palace. The comments of the rabble were most amusing. My secretary kept along with the crowd everywhere, seeing all that was to be seen and listening to

At this entertainment cloths were tied over the heads of the busts of Napoleon's generals. The members of the Commune in person were in charge of the affair.

"By 8 o'clock the reception rooms were full and some 2,000 people still stood in a long string in the garden outside. They behaved with the wondrous good nature which characterizes a French crowd, laughing over the absurdity of their predicament and waving their tickets, which they would never be able to present, jestingly at one another."†

Thiers had for some time made daily visits to superintend hundreds of laborers and carpenters engaged in the work of building a gigantic battery at Montretout. This work was begun on April 29th and finished on May 4th. During these six days an immense amount of labor was performed. Powder magazines, etc., were a part of the work. It is said that more than 150,000 cubic feet of earth were moved in this construction. The new fortification, about a mile in extent, and consisting of eight batteries, assisted by those surrounding it, assured the breaching of the ramparts. Over 70 cannon of large calibre, each supplied with 500 shells (some of which weighed 160 pounds) centralized their force upon a comparatively small portion of the city's walls, and with terrible effect. Marine pieces,

all that was said. Great interest centered in the private apartments of the Empress. The gorgeous belongings were everywhere commented upon by the mob. The bath-room of the Empress attracted great attention. It was represented as very handsome, and as a marvel of luxury, beauty and taste. It was surrounded by heavy plate mirrors. The tub was cut out of solid marble. The ceilings were all covered with rich blue silk velvet. The faucets in the bath were of solid silver. All that was seen was described by the Communards as evidence of the profligacy and luxury of the Court, which accounted for the oppression of the people and for the vast increase of the taxes levied upon them. Not one man in the crowd, it is safe to say, had ever paid a cent of taxes in his life."—*Washington*.

† Fetridge,

worked by sailors accustomed to their operation were of great assistance to the besiegers. The fire of this aggregation of heavy batteries began on Monday morning, centring on Point du Jour.

One hundred and fifty great guns were pouring shot and shell on Paris and the forts.

Fort Valerien continued to direct a terrific fire on Porte Malliot and the adjacent ramparts, which displayed frightful defacements as a result.

Unceasing activity in the construction of barricades marked the early days of May. Huge defenses rose at the Place de la Concorde, Rue Royale, Rue Rivoli and at the corner of the Tuilleries. In front of each of these barricades was a wide ditch. Many of the defences were pierced for artillery, and in the embrasures were placed mitrailleuses.*

Fort Issy was now in an untenable condition. A battalion which had reinforced it the day before had lost half its men, and, after making preparations to blow up the fort, the garrison quietly evacuated it. About 11 o'clock in the night of May 8th-9th, the Versaillese, getting no return fire, investigated and occupied the fort.†

* A force, consisting of 5,000 or 6,000 men, was for many days at work on the interior defences, under direction of a corps of engineers. The Arc d'Triumph was fortified. The barricade at the angle of the Rue de Rivoli and the Rue de St. Florentine was a veritable redoubt, supporting itself to the right on the Ministry of Marine, and to the left on the Tuilleries; it was constructed of earth and sacks filled with earth, and was pierced with five embrasures. The Places Concorde, Vendome and Madeleine and Hotel de Ville were strongly barricaded. On the Quai de Passy a strong barricade was erected near the Jesuit's College, which was also converted into a fortress; the walls of the college gardens were made into extemporized and connected fortifications. Houses were crenellated; the cellars were connected with each other and with the barricades by tunnels. These preparations were made particularly in those parts of the city inhabited by the workmen.

† In Fort Issy, 119 guns were captured and 10 more in the village, as well as huge quantities of munitions and provisions. A short time after the occupation of the fort by the Assembly's troops, a considerable body of Federates advanced toward the fort, probably to reinforce its defence, evidently unaware of the state of affairs. They were met by a heavy fire and driven back, losing several of their number.

As a soldier, Rossel recognized that a passive defence against an increasing force, could but delay the fall of the fortifications. On assuming the head of the War Department, he had at once determined on instituting a plan for offensive warfare; this was nullified by the dilatoriness of the Commune's proceeding.

Now, disgusted with the conflicts of authority, appreciating, in common with many of the leaders the hopelessness of a continuation of the methods in vogue; in power rather from a desire for place than through a love of the cause, he determined to cease his struggles with the legislators, debaters and committees, none of whom had shown any knowledge of military procedure, and few even of the necessities of action and the subordination of theories in war. Immediately on hearing of Fort Issy's occupation by the enemy, he posted notices all over Paris, many more in number than was usual in issuing proclamations—"The tri-color floats over the Fort Issy, abandoned last night by the garrison,"—which certainly has more the sound of the announcement of a victory than of so disastrous a surrender.

The next day, when Rossel's despatch was seen posted on the walls of Paris, and published in the *Journal Officiel*, a hurried meeting was held by the members of the Commune, and the following proclamation appeared:

"It is by a regrettable error that the announcement has been made, that the Fort of Issy had been taken and occupied by the Versaillese. Nothing of the sort has occurred, happily, and the flag of the Commune still floats on its ramparts!"

This contradiction was ordered to be posted and was sent to all the Mairies by Vésinier,

member of the Commune. The *Journal Officiel*, however, never published the contradiction.

Rossel tendered to the Commune his resignation as Delegate of War, which was accepted. He related some very unpleasant truths in his letter, a very remarkable document, which he closed by asking for a cell at Mazas prison.*

Eudes had, on May 1st, been commissioned by Rossel to take charge of Fort Issy. Eudes had proceeded there unwillingly and had immediately sought to find means to get back, and finally did leave the fort, turning its command over to Collet, who evacuated it as stated.

Rossel, Gérardin and probably Dombrowski, were parties to a secret attempt to overthrow the Commune, and place the conduct of the war in the hands of Rossel and Dombrowski.

The choice of members for the Committee of Public Safety had been unfortunate in more than one instance. Pyat was particularly violent in language, extravagant in ideas and uncertain in

*Resignation of Rossel as Delegate of War.

PARIS, May 9th.

"Citizens, members of the Commune:—Being charged by you with the provisional direction of the war-operations, I feel myself incapable of any longer supporting the responsibility of a command where every one deliberates and no one obeys.

"When a necessity existed for organizing the artillery, the Central Committee of that arm discussed but did not order anything. After two month's of revolution, the whole service of your cannons was still dependent on the energy of a few volunteers, whose number is insufficient.

"At my arrival at the Ministry, when I desired to facilitate the concentration of arms, the requisition of horses, the pursuit of men evading service, I asked the Commune to turn to useful account the various Municipalities of arrondissement.

"That body deliberated, but came to no resolution.

"Later, the Central Committee of the Federation came and offered, almost imperiously, its assistance in the administration of the war. Consulted by the Committee of Public Safety, I accepted that aid in the clearest manner, and I transferred to the Central Committee all the information I possessed relative to the organization. Since that time that body has been debating, but has not yet acted. During that delay the enemy enveloped the Fort of Issy with adventurous and imprudent attacks, which I should punish if I had the smallest military force disposable.

"The garrison, badly commanded, was seized with panic; and the

action. The resignation of the Committee of Public Safety was called for, tendered and accepted. A second Committee of Public Safety (the entire Commune concurring) was elected, consisting of Eudes, A. Arnaud, Delescluze, Gambon and Ranvier. Delescluze being now appointed Delegate of War, Billioray was elected in his stead on the Committee of Public Safety. This body decided to sit in permanence at the Hotel de Ville, and the Commune's meetings were to be held three times each week instead of daily as heretofore. The proceedings of the Commune were published in the *Journal Officiel*, except of the sessions in which military affairs were discussed. Rossel, who was arrested on the morning of the 10th, demanded a

officers, having debated, drove away Captain Dumont, an energetic man who arrived to command them, and while consulting, evacuated their fort, after having foolishly spoken of blowing it up, a thing more impossible for them than to defend it.

"That was not enough. Yesterday, while every one ought to have been at work or under fire, the chiefs of legions deliberated in order to substitute a new system of organization for the one I had adopted, in order to make up for the improvidence of their authority, always uncertain and badly obeyed. The result of their meeting was a project, at the moment when men were wanted, and a declaration of principles, when acts were necessary. My indignation brought them back to other thoughts, and they promised me for this day, as their final effort, an organized force of 12,000 men, with which I undertook to march against the enemy. Those men were to assemble at half-past eleven; it is now one, and they are not ready; instead of being 12,000, there are about 7,000, which is not at all the same thing. Thus, the nullity of the Committee of Artillery prevented the organization of that arm; the incertitude of the Central Committee arrested the administration; and the petty preoccupation of the chiefs of legions paralyzed the mobilization of the troops.

"I am not a man to recoil before repression, and yesterday, while those officers were deliberating; the execution-company awaited them in the court-yard. But I am unwilling to assume alone the initiative in an energetic manner, to take on me the odium of the executions necessary to extract from their chaos organization, obedience, and victory. Again, if I was protected by the publicity of my acts, I might retain my command. But the Commune has not had the courage to make its proceedings known. Twice already I have given you the necessary information; and on both occasions, in spite of me, you have held a secret committee.

"My predecessor was wrong to struggle in the midst of this absurd situation. Enlightened by his example, and knowing that the strength of a revolutionist consists solely in the precision of his position, I have two lines to choose from—either to crush the obstacle which hinders my action, or to withdraw. I shall not do the former, for the obstruction is you and your feebleness; and I am unwilling to make an attack on the public sovereignty.

"I therefore retire, and I have the honor to ask you for a cell at Mazas.

"ROSSEL.

trial, and Charles Gérardin was deputed to bring him before the Commune. After a considerable wait, the fact was disclosed that both Rossel and Gérardin had disappeared, and neither was again discovered until resurrected by the Versaillaise.*

A decree of accusation had been passed against Rossel by the Commune; in his posthumous papers he avers that he was accused of traitorously surrendering Fort Issy.

Louis Nathaniel Rossel, though very young, was one of the most capable men the Commune produced. He was born in Brittany in 1844, and was the son of a French father and a Scotch mother. This admixture of blood seems to have given force and gravity to his disposition. He has been described as entirely wanting in the showy and theatrical qualities of the French nature. Energetic, practical, and businesslike, he appears to have had a quiet contempt for the declamation and posturing which generally form so large a part of the life of French Republicans.

He was with the army of Bazaine at Metz, as an inferior officer of Engineers; and, while there, was so impressed with the absolute incapacity of the commanding officers that, even as early as the first half of August, 1870, he formed a plan for expelling the whole body. Immediately after the surrender of Metz, he escaped, first to Belgium, and from there went to England.

Early in December Rossel re-entered his native country. He was presented to M. Gambetta at Tours, and ultimately accepted the position of Chief Engineer Officer in the camp at Nevers. The conclusion of peace excited in him the highest indignation.

The force of these ideas induced Rossel, on the 19th of March, 1871, (the day following that on which the Commune may be said to have been born), to address to the Minister of War at Versailles a letter resigning his post at the camps of Nevers. He wrote:—"I have the honor to inform you that I am about to proceed to Paris, to place myself at the disposal of the Government forces which are about to be organized there. Having learned by a Versailles despatch, published this day, that two parties are struggling for mastery in the country, I do not hesitate in joining the side which has not concluded peace, and which does not include in its ranks generals guilty of capitulation."

*A court-martial, of which Collet was to be president, was already named. "I could not bear," writes Rossel, "the idea of appearing as an accused before that Collet whom I had seen cowering before the shells at Issy; and it was then that I determined to evade the justice of the Commune."

When Rossel offered his services, he was questioned by the Federate officials as to what his sentiments were regarding Socialism. He frankly answered that he knew nothing about it. In his posthumous papers he said: "I was as much the enemy of the Commune as the sensible Republicans were; yet I still thought that the Commune could and ought to be beneficial."

When a correspondent once asked him why he sat as President of the Military Court in plain clothes, and not in uniform, he replied, speaking in English: "Oh, you know, we aim at being rather American in our ideas, and especially in our detestation of forms and ceremonies. We don't want to sit in wigs and gowns, like the English judges. If I happen to be in uniform, I go to Court in that way; if I am in plain clothes, I do not change them." After his elevation to the position of Delegate of War, however, he thought it advisable to assume the dress of a general; but he had it made after a very simple pattern. "As great an enemy to killing as to warfare," Rossel wrote, "I nevertheless accept all the consequences of the situations in which I am placed." We have no reason to suppose he was not a man of humane disposition. The only sentence of death he pronounced in the Military Court was quashed. He seems to have had a mania for plotting. He plotted against his superior officers at Metz; insinuations of secret acts against Cluseret brought from Rossel a letter of denial; he was in at least one plot to overthrow the Commune. He was of middle height and slight build, and wore a short, fair beard. His quiet, self-confident look, his deliberate and thoughtful way of speaking, and his reserved manners, made him seem much more like an Englishman, an American, or a Prussian, than a Frenchman.

Rossel had been Captain of Engineers of the French Army, Colonel under Gambetta, Chief of Staff under Cluseret, Delegate of War and President of the Military Court.

After parting from Gerardin, Rossel got out of Paris, and, failing to quit the country, was arrested on the 7th of June, as a deserter from the regular army.

The Commune's artillerymen elected their officers, who refused to obey Avrial, Commandant of Artillery appointed by Rossel.

The Orphan Asylum of Belleville, a semi-religious institution was closed on the 10th and the property of the asylum was confiscated.

On the morning of May 10th, Fort Vanves was the point of attack. The garrison replied but feebly, and soon evacuated the fort, which remained vacant for some time. The commander,

Durassier, until disabled by a shell, made the Federates hold the place at the point of the pistol. Some of the garrison, leaving the fort, fell into the hands of the Versaillese. A line of rifle pits for sharpshooters had been established 1,500 yards from the fort, and the gunners had been picked off as they worked the guns, and were subjected to a terrific fire from the breaching batteries and mortars, which had prevented the garrison from sleeping for three successive night and completely incapacitated the defenders from a performance of their duties. The Versaillese, believing the fort to be mined, did not take possession. In the evening two battalions of Federates re-occupied the fortress and withstood a furious enfilade.

On May 10th at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Bismarck forced on Pouyer-Quertier and Favre even more extortionate terms than were contained in the original peace stipulation.

The Committee Central of the National Guard, the 10th, added to the bewildering number of committees, by appointing a "Committee of Organization," which proclaimed itself about to "give an irresistible impetus to the defence of Paris."

On May 11th, the Assembly at Versailles became turbulent, accused the Chiefs of the Government of cowardice and incapacity. Thiers, always diplomatic, asked for only eight days more to reduce the Commune to submission.

Federate Chief of Battalion Le Moussu was delegated, with a body of troops, to take charge of the Bank of France. The loyal Guards were well entrenched; the usual excuses were poured into the ears of the Communists by the bank officials and Beslay, and the taking over was put off.

The *Journal Officiel* on the 12th published a proclamation emanating from the Committee of Public Safety, which intimidated that Rossel had been bribed, blaming him for the surrender of Issy, and closing said: "All the living force of the Revolution must group together for a supreme effort. Then and only then will triumph be assured."

It was the intention of the city authorities to take over all movable property belonging to persons who had deserted Paris during the Commune, and to a large extent this was done. The propertied classes were anxious, in some cases almost frantic, to leave the city; many persons, by false passports, forgery and various devices, such as personating coachmen, hiding in vegetable wagons, etc., did pass the ramparts.

The cannon of Montmartre opened fire on Chateau de Bécon and Gennevilliers, but the marksmanship was so defective that the Federate forces in Clichy suffered greatly from this bombardment.

An unsuccessful attempt was made on the 12th to bribe Dombrowski, the Versaillesse recognizing in him a dangerous adversary. The attempts to bribe the Division Commanders were so persistent and so ably supported by persuasion and funds, that the Commune at this time detailed some of its members to personally associate themselves with the commanders. Dereure was assigned to Dombrowski; Johannard to La Cécilia, and Meillet to Wroblewski.

Suspicion seemed the order of the day. Henry Rochefort is credited with saying: "The Hotel de Ville distrusts the Department of War; the Department of War distrusts the Department of Marine; Fort Vanves distrusts Montrouge;

Rigault distrusts the Delegate of War; Vésinier distrusts me.”

By decree of the Commune, on the 13th, the demolition of Thiers' home in Paris was commenced, it being levelled on that and succeeding days. The material was used by or sold for the benefit of the Commune. By the decree the linen of the establishment was consigned to the hospitals to be used in the care of the wounded; the pictures and books were sent to the National Museum and the Public Libraries; the other property was sold at public auction, the proceeds of which went to the widows and orphans of the victims of the war.

Perry Smith, a wealthy citizen of Chicago, Ill., attempted to bid in the effects of M. Thiers to preserve them for the head of the Assembly government. This attempt was unsuccessful.*

The Assembly afterwards decreed that the Thiers mansion should be replaced from the public funds.

Thiers, signing himself Chief of the Government of France, had posted a proclamation declaring that Paris was not being bombarded. “Whilst,” as read the Commune's decree, “each day women and children are victims of the fratricidal projectiles of the Versaillese troops.”

Communal elections had been held in France April 30th. A very large majority returned representatives not favorable to Versailles.† There was an attempt made to call the representatives of of the Communes together at Bordeaux; the Assembly seized correspondence, interdicted orders, interrupted telegraphic communication and were suc-

*Washburn.

†Out of 35,000 Communes, only 8,000 wished to uphold the continued power of the Assembly.—*Sketchley*.

cessful in preventing the establishment of what might have proved another parliamentary body in France. This gathering was forbidden by the Assembly, on the basis of an Imperial law—a law of the same Empire which the men now composing the Assembly, almost without exception, had condemned during its entire existence.*

At 2 p. m. on the 12th a parade of troops took place in Versailles. The chiefs were received by M. Thiers at the Palace, where the soldiers were addressed by M. Leon de Malleville, Vice-President of the National Assembly.

May 13th Ferré displaced Cournet as head of the Police Department in Paris.

Some slight successes were credited to Dombrowski's division on May 13th. This was welcome news to the Commune's sympathizers after days of unvaried reports of defeats.

M. Lasnier, a Versaillese agent, was, on May 13th, arrested with 30,000 francs upon his person, with which he had intended to bribe the Federates.

A scheme was in operation in Paris to furnish tri-colored badges to friends of the Versaillese, in order to distinguish them from Communal supporters when the city was taken. A Madame Le Gros, engaged in the manufacture of the badges, was arrested.

The Commune issued an order that each citizen should carry a card of identification. The difficulties of carrying out this order may be surmised, as nearly every citizen was a Federate, and each one had the power to arrest any man found without it.

*M. Thiers, in a proclamation, insisted that the Assembly was the supreme power having been placed in office by the sanction of the people; the legitimacy of the Empire had been repeatedly denied by Thiers and most of his colleagues, though the powers of government had been derived from the same source.

Fort Vanves fell Sunday morning May 14th and at 12:30 p. m. the news reached Versailles, where manifestations of joy were exhibited in the Assembly and by its supporters. The losses in killed and wounded had been very great to both parties about Vanves, and the final struggle was merciless and terrific.* The defeated and escaping Federates, with some difficulty, made their way through quarries and underground passages to the city, the Montrouge gate and to the military road between the Vanves and Vaugirard gates.†

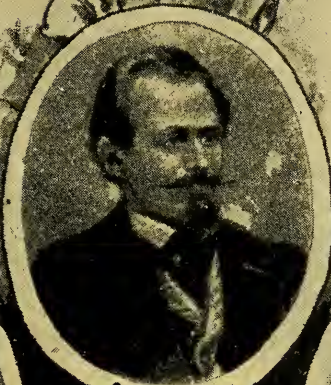
It has been said that the courage of the soldier is the commonest trait in mankind. Whatever arguments might be advanced in this connection, the intrepidity displayed by the Communists in the holding of the forts surrounding Paris is worthy of particular mention. New earthworks were continually thrown up to protect the victorious progress of the Versaillese infantry and artillery. The encroachments of the breaching batteries on grounds before the fortifications were constant, and the huge guns were furnished with an abundance of ammunition and plentifully supplied with men from the increasing numbers of the besiegers. A progressive system of rifle pits enabled the Versaillese sharpshooters to do great execution among the defenders at the guns. The city's fortifications were, for the most part, inadequately manned and imperfectly attended with supplies.

* Captains Rosheim and Durand de Villers of the Assembly's troops were killed at the taking of Vanves.

† There were 60 guns and 10 mortars captured in Vanves. For 10 successive hours during Sunday those who escaped through the catacombs appeared in the city, fainting with hunger, dirty from their contact with the dingy walls of the receptacles for the dead and begrimed with powder. These wanderers startled all who encountered them as they emerged. One party of 100 men, surprised a workman who was entering the catacombs to do some work. This party was led by a woman in officers clothes. She was the mistress of the Commandant of Vanves, and had for some time, previous to the fall of the fortification, assisted in pointing the guns and in all the work of defence.



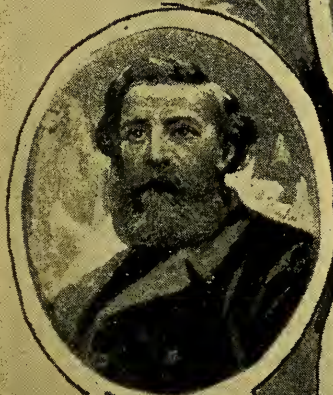
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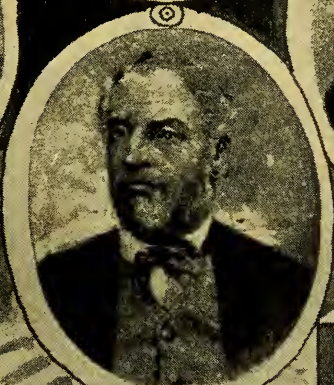
DOMBROWSKI



LULLIER



FELIX PYAT



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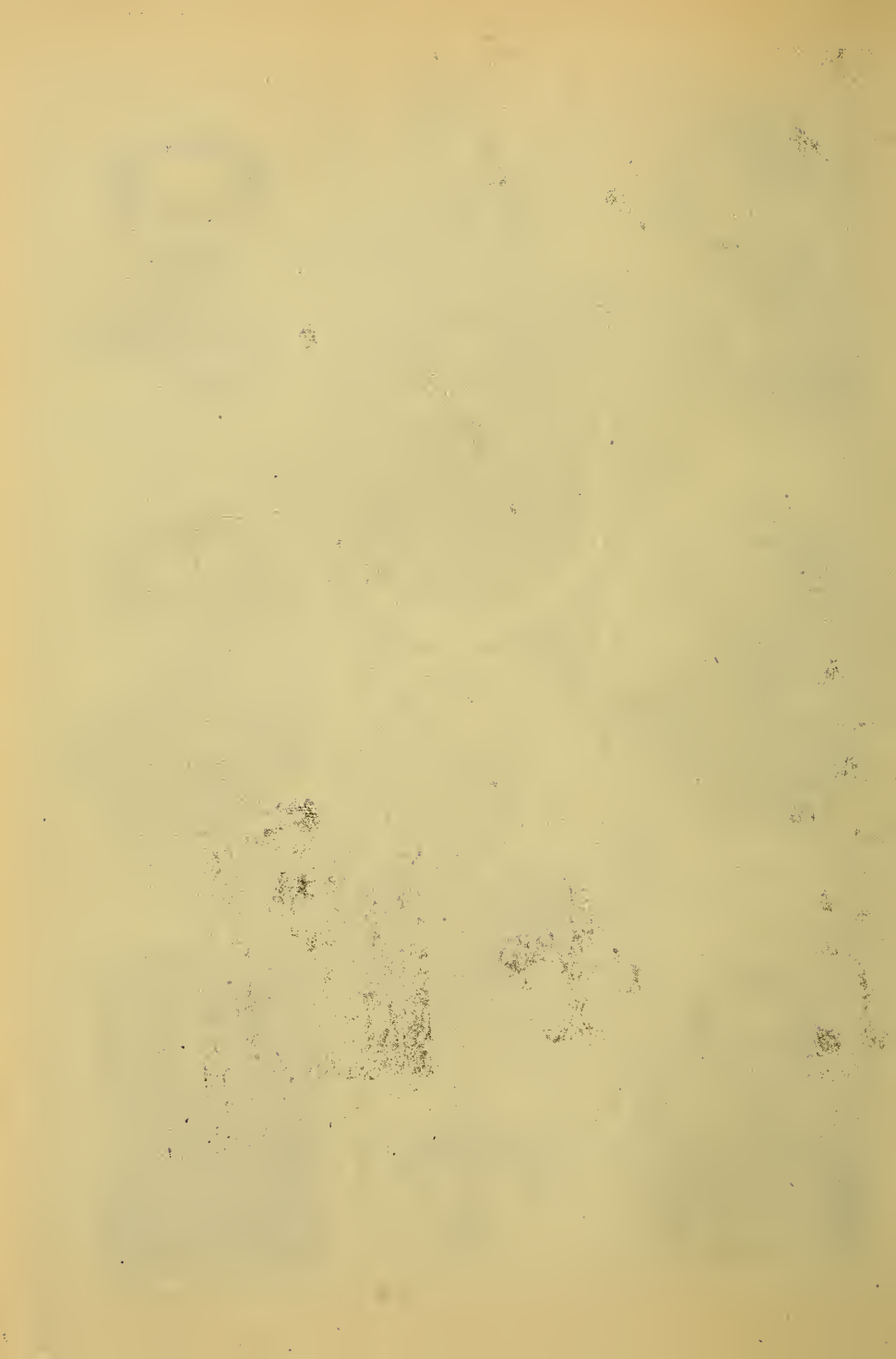
CLUSELET



PROTOT



LOURENS



The continuous bombardment and overwhelming numbers of the assailants wearied the defenders and finally, one by one, the positions were wrung from the valor of the Federates. Fort Issy, once deserted by the troops of the Commune, was the scene of such bravery in the last occupation that it has called forth the praise even of the most malevolent supporters of what the world is pleased to call the representatives of "order." Overmatched in numbers, in skill and in equipment, their zeal seemed inextinguishable; the Commune's soldiers exhibited a desperate heroism in every department far superior to their discipline, leadership or armament. The neglect of the Delegates of War, and in many cases the hopeless inefficiency of the officers, was such as to damp the ardor of less enthusiastic and fearless men. In spite of untoward circumstances, the courage of the common soldier certainly rose to an uncommon height in the defense of the environs of Paris during the siege of the Commune.

The Military Commission of Control was changed in personnel on May 14th. Bergeret, Cournet, Géresme, Ledroit, Lonclas, Sicard and Urbain were the members, of which there were now seven in place of five. Some structures of uncertain utility were, under orders of the New Military Commission, built to assist in the defence. These formed a system of barricades, but of such a character that they were of but little value, although a large amount of material and great labor was expended in their construction.

On the 14th of May several unfriendly journals were suppressed by decree of the Commune—*The National*, *Siecle*, *Discussion*, *Corsaire*, *Avener National* and *Journal de Paris*.

The issue of the *Cri du Peuple* of May 15th contained the following: "We received some days since information of the greatest gravity, and of the correctness of which we are now completely certain. Every measure has been taken to prevent the entry into Paris of any soldier of the enemy. The forts may be taken one after the other; the ramparts may fall. Not *one man* will penetrate into the city. If M. Thiers is a *chemist* he will comprehend us."

The owners of inflammables and explosives were ordered to turn them over to the Communal authorities.

An address was published by Paschal Grousset in the *Journal Officiel*, calling on the sister cities to come to the assistance of Paris, "yet unwearied after two months of contest." It was particularly addressed to Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes and Lisle.

On May 15th, the differences of opinion in the Commune resulted in the declaration of an intended withdrawal by a minority from its sessions, and on May 16th this went into effect. The conflicts between the Committee of Public Safety, with full powers, and the Heads of Departments, acting singly or together as an Executive Committee, were constant. The minority included Jourde, Varlin, Beslay, Thiesz, Andrieu and Frankel. They continued their duties in their departments, but stated that they did not wish, by attending the sessions, to uphold the continuance of the Committee of Public Safety.

The Manifesto of the minority, after stating unbelief in the propriety of the Commune's abdicating its functions into the hands of and "irresponsible committee" said: "As for us, we, no less than the 'majority,' desire the ac-

complishment of political and social reconstruction; but, contrary to its notions, we claim the right to be solely responsible for our acts before our electors without sheltering ourselves behind a supreme dictatorship which our mandate permits us neither to accept nor to recognize." The Manifesto further went on to state that the signatories, in order not to give rise to further dissension in the Council room, proposed retiring into their arrondissements, there to organize the resistance to the common enemy. The Manifesto concluded with a generous expression of the conviction that "we all, majority or minority, notwithstanding our divergences as to policy, pursue the same object, political liberty, and the emancipation of the workers." "Long live the Social Republic! Long live the Commune!"

The Manifesto bore the signatures of Beslay, Jourde, Theisz, Lefrançais, Gérardin, Vermorel, Clémence, Andrieu, Serrailleur, Longuet, Arthur Arnould, Victor Clement, Auriol, Ostyn, Frankel, Varlin, Arnold, Vallés, Tridon, Courbet, and Pindy. Malon subsequently gave in his adhesion.

The withdrawal of the minority at this time is unexplainable. They had all voted for the second committee. The issuing of the Manifesto was evidently seen to have been an egregious error, for the minority repented its publication, and joined in the deliberations of the Commune two days later.

On the 12th of April the decree for the destruction of the Vendôme Column was issued by the Commune. This Column was erected by Napoleon in 1806, in honor of the French arms. It was in the Doric order of architecture, copied after Trajan's Pillar at Rome.

The *Journal Officiel* announced that the fall of the Column would take place at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th. The carrying out of the decree had been postponed from time to time; public interest was intense. Long before the hour named, windows, roofs and streets in the vicinity were filled with people. Bands played inspiring airs. Guards patrolled the Place Vendome and kept back the crowd. The first attempt to pull down the Column failed, owing to the breaking of the tackle; two or three men were injured in the accident. Immediate arrangements were made to continue the work, and shortly before 6 p. m. the Column fell, breaking into four parts in the air as it descended. A bed of fagots and manure had been placed to receive the monument, and when it struck the ground an immense cloud of dust arose, though the shock (which it was feared would shatter the windows in the vicinity) was much less than was expected.

The Emperor's statue was separated from the column, and had fallen a little beyond the heap. It lay a wreck, with the head severed from the body, and one arm broken.

The members of the Commune and their staff, in all about 200, attended on horseback.

A few moments before the fall of the Column, Colonel Meyer, commanding in the Place Vendome, ascended the base, waved a small tri-colored flag, tore it into fragments and flung them to the ground. After the descent of the Column, Colonel

NOTE—The height was 135 feet; the material cut stone; circumference at base, 35 feet; the base was 21 feet high and 20 feet square; 176 steps on a winding staircase led to the top. Bas-reliefs in bronze, in 276 plates, were cast from the metal of 1200 cannon taken from the Austrians and Russians in 1805—over 2,000 figures, weighing 1,800,000 pounds. The figures wound spirally about the monument; they circled the pillar 22 times and formed a twisted band of 840 feet; the figures were three feet high. The pedestal was covered upon three sides with figures of flags, cannons, etc. The Column was surmounted by a statue of Napoleon 11 feet in height. The whole cost about \$300,000.

Meyer leaped upon the ruins and waved the red flag.

Bergeret, decorated with red scarf and tassels, mounted on the pedestal, and thus addressed the crowd:

“CITIZENS:—The 26th of Floréal will be memorable in our history. Thus we triumph over military despotism—that bloody negation of the rights of man. The first Empire placed the collar of servitude about our necks—it began and ended in carnage, and left us a legacy of a second Empire, which was finally to end in the disgrace of Sedan.”

Miot and Ranvier made speeches, the bands played, and the red flag floated over the fallen statue of the Imperial idol.*

Thus was laid low the splendid monument to the glory of one despot and to the defeat of others, whose wars had been at the expense of the lives and efforts of the classes whose condition was not to be altered by either victory or defeat. The position of the proletariat did not change whatever the result in the struggle for power—whether hereditary Hapsburg murderer, descendant of the ignoble Catherine or the Corsican who thought the world none too large for for his gigantic schemes of conquest, was triumphant. The Communists recognized these phases in the consideration of the question, and justly ordered the destruction of the Column. This act was symbolical of the sentiment for International peace in the Commune and the hatred of national pride in the spoilation indulged in by

*“And though in itself the destruction of the Vendome Column may seem but a small matter, yet considering the importance attached generally, and in France particularly, to such symbols, the dismounting of that base piece of Napoleonic upholstery was another mark of the determination to hold no parley with the old jingo legends.—*William Morris and E. Belfort Bax.*”

the central figure in the First Empire. The demolition has been selected as the pet theme of bourgeois historians in exemplifying the vandalism of the Communal government.* But there was a salutary lesson conveyed in its destruction not soon to be forgotten. No monument to perpetuate the glories of systematic murder has place in a true civilization, nor in any state where men have even turned their faces toward an intelligent social order.†

By the destruction of the Vendome Column the regular soldiers were undoubtedly much irritated, considering it an insult offered to the military profession and spirit in France, and McMahon fed the dissatisfaction by a proclamation depicting the magnitude of the affront and in closing said: "We know how to give France another proof of bravery, devotion and patriotism."

A public fête took place in Versailles at the same time the Vendome Column was being destroyed. M. Grévy addressed the soldiers and complimented their bravery and devotion.

* Paschal Grousset, in the *Vengeur*, said: "At last that Column Vendome is to be removed—a ridiculous and monstrous trophy, erected at the command of a blind despot, to perpetuate the remembrance of his insensate conquests and his culpable glory—a monument, moreover, destitute of all artistic value—a cantata in bronze, a daub in metal instead of on canvas—in short, a wretched imitation of Trajan's column. Art will lose nothing by its destruction; good sense and patriotism will gain. For the fact is injudicious to leave under the eyes of the ignorant and the simple the stupid glorification of a cursed past. That Column of Vendome . . . I have never been able to look at it without my heart bounding with indignation and disgust. In the time of the Empire there was always to be seen hanging on the railings and rotting in the rain, innumerable wreaths of a flaunting yellow or a dirty white: Souvenir, Regrets, Gloire, Victoire. Without the sentinel who watched over this rubbish with jealous care, one might have taken the place for the traditional shop always to be found next door to the marblemason's at the gates of the cemeteries."

†On the 22d of May, 1871, the National Assembly, decreed the following law: "The Column of Place Vendome shall be rebuilt at the expense of the State, and surmounted by a statue of France."

Several journals were suppressed, among them one edited by Vermorel, a member of the minority of the Commune, who had attacked the policy of the majority.

On May 17th, 66 members of the Commune, attended the meeting. The time of the sitting was consumed to a large extent in untimely disputes. The minority, which had withdrawn from the sittings, now again, with a few exceptions, took part in the proceedings.

It was stated in this meeting that an ambulance woman attending some wounded Federates, had been repeatedly violated before being murdered by a Versaillese. This called the attention of the Commune to the fact that their threat regarding reprisals by executing the hostages seemingly had had a restraining effect on the murderous propensities of the Versaillese in the early part of April. Several members thought that the execution of ten of the hostages would be now in order; Miot proposed that five be at once shot.

During this session the terrific explosion of the cartridge factory on the Avenue Rapp, which shook Paris and vicinity, took place. Its cause has never been definitely settled, but from the surrounding circumstances a reasonable conclusion is that it was the work of paid agents of the Versaillese.*

The devout and religious portion of Paris attributed the fearful explosion on the Avenue

* The blowing up of the Rapp Cartridge Factory was charged to the machinations of the Assembly's agents. The workpeople (several hundred in number) left on that afternoon at 5 p. m. whereas it was customary to leave at 6 p. m. (or 7 p. m.). This circumstance may be considered evidence that the workers had been warned of impending danger. The explosion occurred about 5:45 p. m.; many persons were in the building and all these were killed. Scores of persons in the vicinity were killed and wounded by the flying projectiles and falling fragments of the building. The estimated number of victims was 100.

Rapp to a judgment on the insurgents for their sacrilegious violation of the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires. On the 17th of May, about five o'clock, or one hour before the explosion, the church was entered by Le Moussu, at the head of the 159th battalion National Guard. The priests were finishing the service of the "*Mois de Marie*" when they were expelled. Le Moussu arrested two vicars of the parish, the Abbés du Courroy and Amodru, and two members of the Council. The tabernacles were torn up, the alters demolished, the confessionals overturned, the marble slabs of the temple broken. The church was despoiled of all its ornaments.

The position of the hostages was now ostensibly the concern of the religious people of the city. Petitions from various organizations were sent to Thiers to relieve the prisoners now believed to be in peril.

M. Brome, a chemist engaged to assist the Communists, was found to be in the pay of the Versaillaise. He had misled Parisel, who was deputed to look after the matter of explosives. Brome was arrested.

"An arrangement had been entered into between the Government at Versailles and four members of the Commune, viz., Billioray, Serizier, Mortier, and Pilotell, to open the gate at the Point-du-Jour, for which service they secured 25,000 francs each. These Communists were to appear at the gate at half-past one o'clock at night, disguised as National Guards; but, in the meantime, Serizier took fright and refused to act, and when the troops appeared, they were forced to beat a precipitate retreat under a murderous fire from mitrailleuses."*

*Fetridge.

It would seem that in this instance that the the Communists had taken the Versaillese money (of which there is conflicting evidence) and instead of opening the gate, had ambuscaded the troops of the Assembly.

The agents sent by the Versaillese to bribe the Communists had achieved much more indirectly than directly. By a series of visits and misrepresentations to the individual members of the Commune and to the other leaders in the movement, they had instilled into the minds of a very large number of those prominent in the uprising a belief, that many foremost in the revolution were already fallen or about to fall before the pressure of the great temptations with which they were so incessantly and insidiously assailed. To this arousing of avarice and suspicion in the leaders may be traced a large number of the re-criminations, quarrels and arbitrary arrests of high officials, as well as the endless debates and apparently senseless opposition to all plans for definite action in the war. Thus, while the result of the systematic and unremitting efforts to debauch the leaders was very favorable to the Versaillese, the results show no act of treachery to the Commune by reason of bribery.

Distrust was not confined to suspicion of one leader for another, for the Federate soldiery, knowing of the presence of the agents for bribery, blindly accused all officials with treachery and attributed the loss of hard fought battles to the connivance of their commanders.

Heavy cannonading occurred on the 18th, but with no decisive results.

The portion of the railroads nearest the city held by the Communists, was utilized for defense. Machine guns mounted on cars were often used as

effective engines of destruction whenever engagements took place near the railroad line. The Versaillesese also followed this method of warfare to some extent, and extended the utility of the railroad as a means of entering the city.

The state of defence in the forts was deplorable. They had but little communication with the interior and it was evident that there was no hope of a much longer continuance of their resistance. The Versaillesese, however, seemed equally bent on knocking down the city's walls and rendering intolerable the existence of the garrisons in the fortifications.

It developed in the course of the contest that the rag-pickers of Paris were hostile to the Commune. The scarcity of rags in the streets incensed the followers of this occupation, who could evidently conceive nothing more felicitous than to scramble in the garbage for the cast off rags of the "order" classes. One writer says: "The rag-pickers exhibited a just hatred for the Commune, as the condition of Paris, under the Communal administration, was not such as to be favorable to the rag-pickers' business."

The treatment of prisoners taken by the Assembly's troops was characterized by the same excesses as were perpetrated during April; in fact the atrocities may be said to have increased as the success of the Versaillesese was more pronounced.

Delescluze published the following: "We point out to public indignation the conduct of the colonel commanding the 39th of the line. When the Versaillesese troops took possession of the Park of Neuilly, that infamous butcher ordered eighteen Federate prisoners to be shot, swearing that he would do the same with every man from

Paris that fell into his hands. Let him beware on his side of falling into theirs.”*

After Fort Issy fell, it was reported by the Assembly's officers that large quantities of spirits in which tobacco had been soaked were found. It has also been stated that this decoction had been given to the Federates to make them “fighting drunk”; it was also sagely added that the effect of the use of this stimulant was to bring almost immediate death when wounded to all who used it, as “all Federates found in the fort were dead.” This story has not been well considered by those who seek to decry the courage or make prominent the dissipation and ignorance of the Federates. Many writers have retold the tale, but apparently not one of them has recognized that the effect of tobacco and spirits on the human organism is to bring an almost instantaneous and deep sleep, (which would incapacitate from any action for a very considerable time,) followed by a deathly sickness as a result of the poisonous potion. On the other hand, it has never been advanced as even a possibility that this liquor had been blended with tobacco for the purpose of bringing illness and inaction upon the soldiery of the captors, in whose hands it was left. The fact that no wounded were found speaks well for the humaneness of the evacuators of Issy, as they well knew the bayonet of the Versailles spared neither the wounded nor the dying. The Federates had been told what the fate of the defenders of Fort Issy would be unless they surrendered.†

The defence of Issy shows none of the characteristics of being garrisoned by men in-

* Delescluze issued an order forbidding all officers of the National Guard to appear in their battalions with a musket in hand, as for the pleasures of fighting on the Versailles troops they neglected their command.

† Page 86.

capacitated by dissipation. Soldiers generally recognize and admire bravery in antagonists; not so the Versaillese.

On May 20th, some Federates demanded admittance at the gate of the residence of the United States Minister. They were denied entrance by a woman in charge, and went away threatening to come back and break down the gates if they should discover that they had been deceived as to the occupant. Paschal Grousset, on being notified of this occurrence, immediately sent orders expressly forbidding a renewal of the attempt by Federates.* Mr. Washburne made much of this affair and, as a result, the German General de Fabrice sent a bullying letter to Paschal Grousset, demanding the surrender *to the Germans* of the Federates concerned in the affair. Grousset replied courteously that he had taken such steps in the matter as were possible; that the apprehension of the Federates was difficult, and that he had sent a letter of apology to the United States Minister, etc.

Paschal Grousset was a young man of frank and cordial manners.† He was born in Corsica. At the time of the Commune he was known as one of the foremost radical journalists in Paris, being editor of the *Marseillaise*. He had also edited *L'Afranchi*, and was a contributor to many periodicals. After the fall of the Commune, he was sentenced to deportation for life, but escaped from New Caledonia in 1874, and passed through San Francisco en route for London, where he gained a livelihood for some time by teaching French. It was while arranging a duel between Pierre Bonaparte and Paschal Grousset [whom he represented] that Victor Noir was murdered by Pierre Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon III. Grousset as Delegate of Foreign Affairs, thoroughly protected the property and person of all foreigners, and no premises which bore the seal that signified their occupancy by foreigners was ever molested in any manner. The conduct of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was in every respect marked by dignity and perspicacity. Paschal Grousset, throughout his entire life, has proved himself

* Washburne.

† Washburne.

to be a man of extraordinary talent. In politics, journalism and literary work he has been successful.* His book "Studies in Ireland" has received great praise.

Defeated in their attempt to hold a Congress of the Communal representatives at Bordeaux, a number of them met at Lyons.

Delegates from this Congress held at Lyons arrived in Paris on the 20th of May, bringing a declaration addressed to M. Thiers and the Commune, in which it was affirmed that the Republic was the only possible and legitimate Government and Communal autonomy the sole basis of the Republic. The declaration demanded that hostilities should cease, that the National Assembly, whose mission was at an end, should be dissolved, that the Commune should also be dissolved, that municipal elections should be held in Paris, and that elections for a Constituent Assembly should be ordered for the whole of France. In the event of these propositions being rejected, either by the National Assembly or the Commune, the Lyons delegates would hold the body rejecting them responsible before the nation. The declaration was signed by delegates of the Municipal Councils of 16 departments.† The propositions were reasonable enough, and should have been acceptable at any time to men who desired peace, but the Assembly had other ends in view. In fact, the Versaillese seemed to fear that a way to peace would be found in some manner other than the carrying out of their programme. Jules Simon voiced this fear when he wrote: "The most reasonable put Versailles and Paris on the same level; they proposed the simultaneous abdication of the Assembly and the Commune, and the election of a new Assembly. This was to propose

* Grousset is now [1898], a Deputy in the French Chamber.

† Lissagaray says this declaration was signed by 20 delegates.

that law should be abandoned and revolt legalized. These attempts were made so often and under so many forms, that it was feared the good sense of the people would be affected by them."

"The Republican Union for the Rights of Paris" sent delegates to Thiers on May 20th. This action was taken with the sanction of the Committee of Public Safety. Thiers absolutely refused to see the delegates, thus, for the first time, definitely rejecting overtures of peace.

There were at this time more than 200 priests and as many, or perhaps more, of others—gend'armes, sergents de ville, etc., held as hostages by the Commune. Examinations were now given, and 36 of the hostages were held, though a much larger number were examined.

Henri Rochefort attempted to escape on May 20th. He was arrested at Meaux, and taken to Versailles, where it was with difficulty that he was protected from the populace, who clamored for his life.

Rochefort [Comte] Victor Henri de Rochefort Lucay was born Jan. 30, 1830; attempted to study medicine, failed; to teach school, same result; appointed in 1857 copying clerk at the Hotel de Ville; wrote dramatic criticisms for the newspapers; was appointed sub-inspector of the fine arts at Paris, 1861; one of the editors of *Figaro*, wrote vaudeville and under nom de plume wrote a historical romance "La Marquise de Courcelles" in 1859; has edited *La Lanterne*, *Marseillaise*, *Mot d'Ordre* and other journals. He is somewhat noted as a duelist, and is an art critic and sculptor.

Rochefort was sought out in prison where he was confined for political offenses, and made a member of the Government of the National Defence; not from the fact that the members of this government shared the extreme views of Rochefort, but because they considered it safer to have a man of his vigor, abilities and influence on the inside than on the outside.

A nobleman by birth, he early began revolutionary teaching, and continually jeopardized his life and liberty by inflaming the lower classes against their oppressors by the means of his powerful pen.

He was one of the most vigorous and brilliant writers during the Commune, constantly advising extreme measures in the destruction of

buildings and the execution of the hostages, but of a singular and uncertain disposition, not calling forth the confidence of the Communal authorities, by whom he was constantly under suspicion. At the destruction of the Vendome Column, while viewing the demolition from his carriage, he was pointed out as the next prominent person who would be arrested. After his return from exile, he became one of the most distinguished journalists of his time.

The Bank of France now believed, and with reason, that the great struggle was about to come. It protected its treasures by burying them in the lower cellars of the building and blocked the stairways with sand. The bank officials, however, still continued to deliver sums to the Commune.

Passy, a staunch loyal district, was entirely deserted by the Federates. Notwithstanding it was conceded that the Versaillese would attack the city on the West, that side of Paris was less supported than the others, as the cannonading made its occupation uncomfortable and dangerous.

There were clashes of authority between the Committee Central, elected by the National Guards and the Commune, elected from the political divisions of the city. The Committee of Public Safety was another factor in the difficulties, and as a creation of the Commune was supposed to have full power. But the Committee Central, as the representatives of the military, would not be secondarily considered. These warring elements led to not a few of the blunders which hastened the fall of the Commune. There really seemed to be four military authorities—all claiming to be chief. The Committee of Public Safety, Delegate of War, Military Commission and Committee Central—a state which could but result in disaster.

Georges Veysset, an agent of the Versaillese had attempted, through the instrumentality of a woman, to bribe Dombrowski to deliver over the fortifications from the Porte du Jour to Porte

Wagram. The sums stated to have been offered 1,500,000 francs, (about \$300,000) which was to be divided between the general and his staff. The woman, whose name was Muller, betrayed the agent, who was arrested May 20th under orders from Ferré. Veysset and his mission were known to Rigault, who had been desirous of his apprehension for some time previous to the arrest.

The National Guard had originally been somewhat loose in its organization and lax in its discipline, but in the days after Cluseret's sweeping orders, the ranks of the battalions had been filled with scarcely a regard to age, height or any of the qualifications for association general in military formation. This not only gave the Federates a very odd appearance as soldiers but greatly decreased their efficiency. The appearance of uniform of the soldiers of the line in the ranks of the Federates was frequent. This would indicate desertions from the regulars to the Communists, but such was not the case; but few desertions took place after the troops were hurried out of the city March 18th-19th. The Communists had found a very large number of uniforms of the regular army in warehouses, and many Federates had been clothed in them, doubtless to carry to the populace and soldiery the idea that the defence was being strengthened by additions from the trained soldiers of the opposition. This trick, however effective it might have been upon the friends of the Communists, was the death warrant for a very large majority of those who perpetrated it, as all persons taken in this uniform were instantly shot as deserters.

But a few hundred horses were at the disposal of the Commune, while the Versailles army had an abundance of cavalry, and outside the city,

the horse of their opponents was exceedingly active in cutting off and capturing the Federates while retreating.

Whatever else was misunderstood or not conceived by the Commune and its supporters, it had been for some time tacitly acknowledged by its shrewdest observers that the artisans and laborers that made up the ranks of the Federates were not capable of achieving success in war when engaged in conflicts with those who made war a business.

"The army of the Commune, was to a great extent composed of married men with families; and we need not, therefore, wonder that it was deficient in the practice, the stability under fire, and especially the discipline of the regular army. Its officers had neither the military knowledge which study alone can give, nor the habit of command or experience, only to be acquired by long practice. There was no cavalry, and the artillery was very inferior in comparison with that of the enemy. The artillerymen, being National Guards, were but insufficiently instructed. The conductors of the teams did not understand how to manœuvre, and the horses, sadly deficient in number, had never been under fire. Such were the principle causes of the inferiority of the army of the Commune."* The ammunition and victualling departments were badly arranged; imperfect as was the administration during the German siege, it was even worse after the 18th of March; and that, for meeting the "disciplined troops, old and experienced generals, and skilled officers of Versailles," the Commune had only a raw army, led by young generals inexperienced in warfare, whose audacity, courage and genius had to stand in place of study, art and practice.

*Vesinier.

“With the exception of a few former officers, lieutenants or captains, and the Poles like the two Dombrowskis, Wroblewski, Okolowitz and others, the officers . . . were only civilians dressed in a uniform.”*

Had Generals McMahon, Ladrimault and Cissey been put in a position where they were expected to at once do the work of Bergeret, printer; Eudes, apothecary's clerk; or Duval, ironfounder, they would probably have been quite as unsuccessful as were the latter named as military leaders.

On this subject, Plato treats in his treatise on “The Republic.” Socrates is supposed to be representing a conversation he had with Glaucon:

“‘We agreed, if you remember,’ said I, ‘that it was impossible for a single person to practice many arts well.’ ‘True,’ said he. ‘What, then,’ said I, ‘do not struggles in war seem to require art?’ ‘Very much so,’ said he. ‘Ought we then take more care of the shoemaking art than of that warfare!’ ‘By no means.’ ‘But we charged the shoemaker not to attempt to be at the same time a husbandman, or a weaver, or a builder in order that the work of shoemaking might be well done; and in like manner we allotted to each of the others a single calling, to which each was adapted by nature, and at which each, by abstaining from the rest, and applying to it the whole of his life, and not neglecting the proper opportunities, would be likely to work well. And can a person who takes a spear, or other warlike arms and instruments, instantly become an expert combatant in ‘an armed encounter, or aught else relating to war.’”

* Jules Simon.

The bombardment of the city was steadily increasing, and the intention of the besiegers to go to any lengths in this was shown, notwithstanding the solemn statement of Thiers some weeks before, that "Paris would *not* be bombarded." Great preparations were made for cannonading the Gates St. Cloud and Auteuil by Forts Valerien, Issy and Vanves, and by batteries situated at advantageous points.

Stronger became the forces and efforts of the Versaillaise. On the 16th, a cannonading duel took place between the batteries at Trocadero and Fort Valerien, in which the former was vanquished. "Nothing could live under the terrible fire of Fort Valerien and from Montretout. Military men told me the battery at Montretout was the most terrible the world had ever seen."* Scarcely a shot from Fort Valerien went astray. It is said the Arc d'Triomphe was struck 27 times in one day. Meudon, Sèvres, Courbevoie, Bécon, Asnières, Les Moulineaux, Moulin-Saquet and three forts had been taken by the Versaillaise. The gates and walls on the West were trembling under the terrific shower of heavy projectiles. Montmartre was subjected to a severe bombardment during these days, but replied stoutly and was the hope of the Federates as a stronghold.

"Serious and competent observers did not fail to perceive that the progress of the Versaillists, though slow—often very slow—was none the less sure. Little by little did they advance their positions against the forts and fortifications of Paris. On the other hand, the material and personnel of the Versaillists were daily reinforced. Batteries, siege and marine pieces, mortars, howitzers and field-artillery, were sent every day from

* Washburne.

the strongholds and seaports to Versailles. Recruits, also, arrived daily from the provinces, or from Prussia, to swell the ranks of its army; the prisoners of the French army in Germany were allowed to depart in great numbers to augment the forces of Versailles; whilst those of the Commune could not be recruited from the outside, and were constantly diminishing by losses. Every day the Versaillists advanced their works of attack nearer to the forts, and contracted their line of investment. By the help of their reinforcements of artillery, new batteriers were erected daily, and their fire grew stronger and stronger."

"Under such circumstances, the Commune had not only to renounce the hope of conquering the army of the Versaillaise Government outside the ramparts, but likewise to look forward to an attack under the walls and in the streets of Paris. Since the defeat of the provincial towns which had sided with the Commune, only one chance remained for Paris—that of annihilating the Versaillists in its streets. This was where the final struggle, which would decide not only the triumph or defeat of the Commune, but also of the Revolution, or counter-revolution, would have to be made. . . . The people of Paris knew that all their great battles had been won, and the Revolution made triumphant, behind the barricades; and they believed they would again be victorious behind their ramparts of stone and earth."*

The days of street fighting were to be the days of victory. Upon what this too prevalent belief was based is unknown. For though every effort of bravery and fortitude has been shown in the street fighting in Paris and elsewhere, the definiteness and discipline of regular troops have

*Vesinier.

defeated entrenched revolutionists in a very great majority of instances. How a semi-organized force,* disheartened by a series of defeats, were expected to hold against a victorious and overwhelmingly larger army, is beyond comprehension. Yet Paschal Grousset, Delescluze and others of the leaders exhibited the utmost confidence in the ability of the Federates to hold control of the interior. Every victory by the Versaillese army had increased the confidence of the Assembly's support, while on the other hand the Communal sympathy ebbed away as the sureness of defeat became apparent.

Serious attempts were made to punish all Federates who were derelict in their military duties.†

A semicircular line of attack was held against the Federals outside the city. With but slight cessations this line had been steadily pressed toward the ramparts since the defeat of the sortie of April 3d. The Versaillese made heavy gains May 19th and 20th, and definite plans were prepared for an assault at the gates on the West.

* Rossel, in his posthumous papers, describes them as ragamuffins, drunkards and scamps, "who pretended to deliver the country from the rule of the sword, and could only substitute for it the rule of *delirium tremens*." Rossel, during his short term as Delegate of War, attempted the role of martinet and the National Guard, never too obedient to authority, became loud in their denunciations of his attempts at show of power, and he in return, generally depreciates their valor.

† The court-martial presided over by Colonel Gois tried the Lieutenant-Colonel Daviot and Commandant Vanostat of the 115th battalion of the National Guard, for having, without any superior orders, abandoned their posts at the Convent of Issy, thereby allowing the position to be occupied by the enemy. It appeared that the battalion was seized with a panic and took to flight towards Paris; it had lost 26 men the night before in an attack badly conducted, and had become sadly disorganized. The two prisoners attempted to stop the men, but without effect; and, finding that they could not induce them to return, had at last yielded to the current and proceeded themselves towards the gates of the city. Several witnesses deposed to the general good conduct and courage of the prisoners, but the court condemned Daviot to 15 years, and Vanostat to ten years imprisonment; further it ordered that the 115th battalion be struck off the list, and the men drafted into other bodies of the same force.—*Pettridge*,

VI.

May 21-27—The Bloody Week.

SUNDAY, MAY 21—Aside from the discordant noises and the scenes and smoke of war, Paris had never seen a more pleasant day. The sun and sky were bright and beautiful. The crowds on the streets viewed with curious composure the preparations for internal defence. The work on barricades and the transferring of war material made an interesting spectacle. A body of sailor-artillerymen on horseback were manœuvred about the city in the forenoon. This force was equipped and brought forward with a hope that it might offset the cavalry of the enemy. Its undisciplined ranks were not able to stand before the Versaillese, from whom they fled in the afternoon, scarcely striking a blow for their cause. They were the first force brought against the invaders inside the city walls.

The Versaillese first entered Paris by the St. Cloud gate, the defence of that portion of the rampart being entirely neglected. About 11 o'clock in the forenoon, an engineer named Ducatel, who had before this day given information of value to the Versaillese, made known to General Douai, Division Officer in charge of the force outside this gate, the condition of the place. Ducatel had discovered the desertion of the St. Cloud gate, waved his handkerchief on a cane from the ramparts and attracted the attention of some

officers who were reconnoitering. A temporary bridge being constructed over the moat, the gate was soon opened and the troops entered the city. Ducatel was suspected, even after giving himself into the hands of the Versaillese, and was threatened with instant death if he was found to be misleading them. To show his good faith, he offered to guide or lead a force against the Federates at any point considered best by the Versaillese commanders.

General Douai strongly occupied Porte St. Cloud and vicinity. General Vinoy took possession of the important post of Trocadero. A few Federates were captured here, and with scarcely a shot at this point, the Versaillese were securely ensconced in one of the best positions in the city. The troops on the interior of the ramparts opened other gates. Ladrimault's forces entered by the Gates Passy and Auteuil and advancing inside the ramparts, captured some hundreds of prisoners. Many of these prisoners were shot when captured, and a member of the Commune, at 11 p. m. riding on horseback through the Rue Beethoven, was first apprised of the presence of the enemy by his horse shying from the corpses of the dead Federates lying in rows before the walls where they had fallen after being shot to death. General De Cissey, during the night, entered at the Vaugirard and Montrouge gates, which gave a huge semicircle of the city's defences into the hands of the Versaillese. The line of the attacking force inside the walls took the same form that it had held on the outside. From that moment of entrance the movement of the crescent-shaped formation of the Versaillese force was steadily progressive.

The Garden of the Tuilleries was the scene of a grand concert given for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the National Guard. Speeches were made and a thousand musicians played the Marseillaise and other revolutionary airs. An officer, in the midst of the enjoyable occasion, announced a concert of the same character for the afternoon of the following Sunday. What a different scene the Sunday of a week after presented? Although the unceasing bombardment of the city and the carelessness of its defenders should have been sufficient indications of a great change in the situation, none could be prepared for such horrors as awaited them in the next days.

Sunday afternoon's meeting was the last sitting of the Commune. Before the time of the next meeting the cry prevailed "each man to his arrondissement" and the general organization of the city on this day practically ceased. A few members of the Commune met Monday forenoon and discussed some matters informally. There was a lack of solidarity which boded ill.

Cluseret was on trial before the Commune when Billioray rushed in about 3 p. m. and told them of the enemy's entrance to the city. The trial, the evidence in which consisted principally of assertions by Miot without tangible foundation, (relating in part to the desertion of Issy by Mégy) was hastily concluded and Cluseret was acquitted. He had been imprisoned ever since Mégy had deserted Issy. He was given a command at Montmartre the next day. Delescluze, at the War Office, when informed of the enemy's entrance, was calm and predicted that the street fighting would be favorable to the Commune forces.

The lax discipline of the Federates here faded away to no discipline. Delescluze issued a placard declaring "the bare arms of the people to be a match for military strategists, etc.," a most unwise publication, tending to loosen the little hold organization then had on the Federates.*

Other placards were posted casting doubt on the truthfulness of reports, and it was not until late at night that the enemy's presence was generally conceded. Henri Proudhomme, Chief of the General Staff, made a hasty investigation and concluded that the Versaillese were probably not in Paris and a placard was issued to that effect. As soon as it was definitely known that the troops were in the city, Montmartre began shelling the Place de l'Etoile and vicinity.

The Versaillese forces advanced warily into the city. It was confidently believed by them that the streets had been mined to blow up the Assembly's troops as they marched in. But as they proceeded uninterrupted by any indications of this condition of affairs, they grew bolder and the days following Monday found a constant increase in confidence. The ease with which the

*There is great difference in statement regarding the numerical strength of the Federates.

"Nearly 300,000 National Guards, all armed were in the streets." (March 1st.)—*Jules Simon*. If this statement be true, great desertions must have occurred, as Cluseret's reports in April show about 125,000 men on the rolls.

"Talking with a gentleman (late in March) connected with the foreign office on the subject of the state of things in Paris, I told him I had no doubt but that General Sheridan with a regiment of cavalry could clean out the whole insurgent forces."—*Washburne*. Seemingly a very thoughtless observation, as the Communal forces certainly numbered over 100,000 men.

"It (the Commune) could then boast of 80,000 effective men" [May 4th].—*Washburne*.

There were at least 100,000 men in the ranks of the Commune on April 1st. This force was so diminished by death, capture and desertion, that on May 20th the Commune's available, defenders probably did not exceed 60,000.

On April 24th Thiers had stated the Assembly's force to number 150,000 men, and this had been considerably augmented by May 1st; 100,000 Versaillese were inside the walls by Monday at noon.

entrance had been made and the surrender of the important Trocadero and the other strong points, strengthened the invaders in the belief that they were to be blown up or ambuscaded.

It was the avowed intention of the Parisians to make a second Moscow of Paris rather than resign it to the Prussians, and Trochu, when in charge, had furnished petroleum to assist in the work of destruction. This same petroleum is said to have been used to aid in the firing of the buildings of the city by the Federates on the advance of the Versaillese.

The fact that a successful plan for the complete demolition of the city was absent from the Communist scheme of defense, is but another proof of the incapacity of the Communal leaders to wage systematic warfare.

Archibald Forbes, the noted war correspondent of the London *Daily News*, says :*

"I entered the Chateau de la Muette. Dombrowski gave me a hearty and cordial greeting, and at once offered me permission to attach myself to his staff permanently, if I could accept the position as it disclosed itself. 'We are in a deplorably comic situation here,' said he with a smile and a shrug, 'for the fire is both hot and continuous.' Dombrowski was a neat, dapper little fellow of some five feet four inches, dressed in a plain, dark

*Mr. Forbes had arrived from London when the most stringent regulations regarding ingress and egress were in operation, and went to the German headquarters to see if they could assist him in entering the city.

"The Crown Prince of Saxony was at luncheon when I reached the chateau in which he had his quarters. He roared with laughter when I told him how the gen d'arme had served me. "These people at Versailles," he explained, "have been leaving the mouth of the trap open all these weeks, and pretty near all the turbulent blackguards of Europe have walked into it. Now they think all the blackguards are inside, and since they are just about to begin business, they have stopped both ingress and egress. Still," he continued musingly, "I am surprised that they didn't let you in!" The Prince has something of a sardonic humor and he made his point; and I for my part made him a bow in acknowledgment of his compliment."

[Mr. Forbes gained admittance to the city the next day, 21st].

uniform with very little gold lace. His face was shrewd—acuteness itself; he looked as keen as a file, and there was a frank, honest manner with him, and a genial heartiness in the grip of his hand. He was the sort of man you take to instinctively, and yet there were ugly stories about him. He wore a slight mustache and rather a long chin-tuft, which he was given to pulling as he talked. He spoke no English, but talked German fluently. His staff consisted of eight or ten officers, chiefly plain young fellows who seemed thoroughly up to their work, and with whom, not to be too pointed, soap and water seemed not so plentiful as was their consummate coolness. Dombrowski ate, read and talked all at once, while one could hardly hear his voice for the din of the cannonade and the whistle of shells. A battalion commandant, powder-grimed and flushed, rushed into the room and exclaimed in great agitation that the Versaillese troops were streaming inside the *enciente* at the gate of Billancourt, which his command had been holding. The cannonade from Issy had been so fierce that his men had been all under shelter, and when the Versaillists came suddenly on, and they had to expose themselves and deliver musketry-fire, the shells fell so thick and deadly that they bolted, and then the Versaillists had carried the gate, and now held it. His men had gone back in a panic. He had beaten them —*sacre nom*, etc.—with the flat of his sword till his arm ached, but he had not succeeded in arresting the panic, and his battalion had now definitely forsaken the *enciente*. The Versaillists were massing in large numbers to strengthen the force that had carried the gate of Billancourt, Dombrowski waited until the gasping officer had exhausted himself, then handed him a glass of

wine with a smile, and with a serene nod turned to his salad, and went on eating it composedly and reflectively. At length he raised his head: 'Send to the Ministry of Marine for a battery of seven-pounders; call out the cavalry, the *tirailleurs* (of some place or other, I did not catch), and send such and such battalions of national guards. Let them be ready by seven o'clock, I shall attack with them, and lead the attack myself.' The lieutenant suggested that he might not be able to get a whole battery. 'Bring what you can, then,' said Dombrowski; 'two, three or four guns, as many as you can, and see that the tumbrils are in order. Go and obey!' 'Go and obey' was the formula of this peremptory, dictatorial and yet genial little man. He had a splendid commanding voice, and one might have judged him accustomed to dictating, for he would break off, to converse and take up the thread again.

The shell-fire was increasing. Dombrowski told me that the Chateau de la Muette belonged to a friend of Thiers, and that therefore, although it was known to be his headquarters, there were orders that it should be somewhat spared. All I to say is, that if there were any efforts made to spare it, the Versaillist gunners were very bad shots. Dombrowski was standing, sword in hand, dictating three orders at once. He stopped to ask me what I thought of the prospect I had looked down on from the roof. I could not conscientiously express the opinion that it was reassuring from the Federal point of view. 'I am just dictating an order,' said Dombrowski, 'which will inform Paris that I abandon the *enciente* from the Porte d'Auteuil to the river. If you are a military man, you must recognize the fact that our loss of Fort Issy has made virtually untenable that sec-

tion of the continuous fortification of which I speak. Its province was to co-operate with, not to resist, Fort Issy. For several days past I have foreseen the necessity of which I am now informing Paris, and I have prepared a second line of defense, of which the railway viaduct defines the contour, and which I have made as strong as the *enciente* and more easily tenable. Yes; the Versailles are in possession of that gate you heard the flurried commandant talk of. They may have it and welcome; the possession of it will not help them very much. But, all the same, I don't mean to let them keep their hold of it without giving them some trouble, and so I am going to make an attack on them to-night. As like as not they will fall back from their occupancy of to-day, and then they will have the work to do over again to-morrow. But I am not going to fight with serious intent to retrieve this condemned section of *enciente*, as the order I have been dictating for publication will show; but merely, as I may say, for fighting's sake. There is plenty of fighting still in our fellows, especially when I am leading them.'

Dombrowski smiled as this news was communicated to him, and I thought of his 'second line of defence,' and of his assurance that 'the situation was not compromised.' Dombrowski and his staff were very active and daring, and the heart of the men seemed good."*

Dombrowski led an attack on the enemy in the space between the *enciente* and the railway on the night of the 21st. An attempt was made to storm the Cemétière des Paurves; this was a temporary success, but heavy firing from various sources disconcerted the Federates. They re-

*Century Magazine, October, 1892.

treated, were routed, and shot and shell chased the fugitives, as they fled toward Montmartre; they met troops coming to reinforce them; imparting to these their terror, the fleeing Guards were joined in their rout by their allies. The Federates, many of whom were undoubtedly under the influence of stimulants, fired their chassepots indiscriminately as they ran.

Assi, while on a tour of inspection during the night, was arrested near the Porte de Jour. Amouroux, who accompanied him, was also taken, and both hurried off to Versailles.

“The working engineer Assi, one of the chiefs of this great revolt—a man without instruction or judgment, but of an energetic character, has avowed that he never read but one book—the *“Revolution of Italy,”* a work by Edgar Quinet, which he was incapable of understanding by reason of his inadequate information, but by which his imagination was much affected.”*

The character above given to Assi by an unfriendly writer does not in the least represent him. He was an honest, fearless man. His conservative opinion freely expressed, regarding the propriety of the sortie of April 3d was the cause of his being imprisoned. He headed a strike at the mines at Creuzot. His whole life was one of strenuous and intelligent effort to better the condition of the workers. He was continually placed in positions of responsibility and honor in the organizations with which he was identified, and in no instance is there a report on anything but a proper fulfillment of duty. Assi was a very prominent member of the International Workingmen's Association.

MONDAY, MAY 22—Early in the morning the interior movement for the Commune's subjection was systematically begun. The military arrangement was methodical and thoroughly successful; scarcely a belligerent attacked the rear of the advancing Versailles, and as the Assembly's troops passed from one portion of the city to another, the prisoners captured were frequently shot to death

* Pettridge.

in groups, in lines, or against the walls. Some were convoyed to Satory, and the enfeebled, sick or disabled were killed if they lagged or attempted to rest on the way. Prudhomme evacuated the War Office and neglected to destroy official documents which were used and were the means of sending to penal servitude and death many of the survivors of the Commune.

The outside posts of the Federates at Lavallois, the Ternes and other environs in this vicinage, were now in the midst of a galling fire of artillery and of musketry from the outside, and from Versaillese sharpshooters on the ramparts. A retreat was ordered; the Federates entered the city, principally by the Gates Bineau, Asnières and Clichy; they immediately engaged the Versaillese inside the walls; but, defeated and forced along, the Guards took their places with their comrades at the barricades, now under command of the Committee of Public Safety. The first system of interior defences encountered by the Versaillese, was of great extent and importance, and was perhaps the best managed part of the defence; it protected the avenues leading to the center of the city, and was of immense strength. In fact, so great a number of these internal fortifications had been erected, that in the latter days of the fighting, many were almost without defenders. Some huge barricades were held for long periods by only two or three Federates to man a mitrailleuse. The streets were now occupied only by soldiers and war material. The danger from bullet and shell was great, and a terror inspired all inhabitants, particularly the non-combatants.

As was usual during the entire fight in the city, passers-by were pressed into the service to erect and often to protect barricades. The women

and boys of the working classes were active in the building and defence of street obstructions. Applications to the Commune's headquarters were continually made by women who wished to assist in the defence. They showed much more energy and pertinacity than the men and demanded the immediate death of any man who proved cowardly or recalcitrant, sometimes carrying out their own sentences of death.

A proposition made by Félix Pyat to compromise with the enemy, was quickly set aside by the members of the Commune in its informal meeting. They, however, merely re-delegated the full power of defence to the Committee of Public Safety; no apparent effort was made toward a concerted action by the general body.

M. Koch, a chemist, was arrested for interfering in the erection of barricades, and, after being heard before Ranvier and two members of the Commune, was taken out and shot.

Mégy, carrying out orders for a domiciliary search, was sneered at for being a workingman by the concierge of the house of the Comte de Chabral. The Federates seized the concierge and taking him to the yard, shot him.

Ducatel, who had directed the Versaillese to the unprotected St. Cloud gate, was captured by the Federates during an attack on a barricade in Passy. He was serving as a guide to the attacking party when he was seized. He was suffering from a bayonet wound, but was carried off

tried before Razoua and sentenced to death. The execution of the sentence, probably owing to the necessity of defensive operations, was delayed.

Passy, always a loyal stronghold, was full of joy; showed tri-colored badges and gathered

companies of men for the Versaillese cause. The Arc d'Triomphe was deserted on the approach of the enemy and was the first point in the city where the tri-color floated. The Military School, with a huge quantity of provisions, ammunition and 200 cannon, fell to the Versaillese without a struggle. Ducatel, sentenced to death, was left in the school, and was gaining his liberty through a window when the Versaillese arrived. Razoua, the Federate officer in charge, immediately escaped from the city. There is a suspicion of treachery attached to Razoua, as it is stated that he had been in communication with the Versaillese. A man who was accused of spying near the Military School previous to the Versaillese occupation, was captured late in the day, taken to the Hotel de Ville, tried and shot. General Vinoy captured the Communal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Corps Legislatif.

Colonel Boulanger, (afterward General, and a prominent figure in France,) was an officer of the Versaillese force that captured Montparnasse. Several barricades were carried by the Versaillese after severe fighting in the quarter of Plaisance in this engagement, which took place early Monday morning.

Proclamations to the assailants were issued, in which the Committee of Public Safety expressed the belief that the soldiers of Versaillese would not direct their arms against the Parisians when they come in close contact.

The Committee of Public Safety also issued the following appeal to the city's inhabitants: "Parisians! The struggle we have commenced cannot be abandoned, for it is a struggle between the past and the future, between liberty and despotism, equality and monopoly, fraternity and

servitude, the unity of nations and the egotism of oppressors.

“To arms! Yes, to arms! Let Paris bristle with barricades and from behind these improvised ramparts let her shout to her enemies the cry of war. Its cry of fierce defiance and victory, for Paris, with its barricades, is invincible!”

This was signed by Ant. Arnaud, Billioray, Eudes, Gambon and Ranvier.

Dombrowski had been arrested early in the morning, but was soon released, and at once returned to his command. He was slowly falling back all day from the positions in the western part of the city, and his action in this regard again made him the object of the suspicion of the Federates. He was, on account of being a foreigner, somewhat disliked by the less intelligent of the Guard. And being by far the ablest of the military leaders, he was the constant object of attempts at bribery by the Versaillese; these attempts did much to increase the unpleasantness of his position. It was believed that he expected to make a final stand at Montmartre, from which a system of barricades had been erected, extending to Trocadero and La Murette. It was apparent that the Chateau de la Murette, (at the gate of that name,) and the Trocadero, had been illy defended, and in consideration of their real military importance, greatly neglected. These unfavorable reports still further alarmed the Communal sympathizers and demands were made on Delescluze for men and munitions from all points at once.

An excited and desperate band of women invaded the military headquarters, demanding of Delescluze a mitrailleuse to defend a barricade near the Palais Royal. Each wore a mourning

sign, indicating the loss of a brother, a husband, a son or a lover. Their request was granted. No horses at all were to be had. The women hitched themselves to the huge gun, and to the ammunition wagons as well, and dragged them to their station, where the women displayed the utmost vigor and intrepidity in the defence.

The school teachers in the secular schools established by the Commune applied for positions and directed their charges—the boys to aid in building barricades, the girls in sewing sacks for holding sand, which were used in the construction of the street defences.

The guns of Montmartre, diligently worked, could have disorganized the advancing battalions of the Versaillese, but this was neglected.

Rumors were rife that Fort Montrouge had been evacuated the night before; troops and war materials were hurried to the support of that fortification.

Delescluze was now worn down with work and loss of sleep. He was busy day and night signing orders, assigning forces, etc.

Valliot, a spy, after trial at the Palace of Justice, was taken thence and shot by the Federates.

The transfer of hostages from Mazas to La Roquette took place in the evening. The order for the transfer which was signed by Ranvier, Eudes and Gambon, was directed to Ferré and called his attention to his duties regarding their transfer to a safer place of confinement. Forty of the most important prisoners were transferred; a dozen or more, however, whom it was intended to take, being left because of lack of carriage facilities, among whom was Mgr. Darboy. Those transferred were turned over to Francois, the jailer, and Vireg, the Commandant of La Roquette. The prisoners

complained of the scantiness of the furnishings of their cells to which Francois replied "that it was not worth troubling about for the short time they would be there."

Cluseret went into hiding late in the day, deserting the command at Montmartre assigned him under La Cécilia. He was subsequently aided to escape from the city by an ecclesiastic to whom he had shown some favors when in power, and in the garb of a priest Cluseret reached Brussels.

A young officer of the Versaillese army, writing of the appearance of the city as their troops entered through a breach in the defences, says: "I shall never forget the sight. The fortifications had been riddled with bullets; the casements were broken in. All over the ground were strewn haversacks, packets of cartridges, fragments of muskets, scraps of uniforms, tin cans that had held preserved meats, ammunition, wagons that had been blown up, mangled horses, men dying and dead, artillerymen cut down at their guns, broken gun-carriages, disabled siege guns, splashed red from pools of blood but still pointed at our positions, while all around were the still smoking walls of ruined private houses. A company of infantry was guarding about six hundred prisoners, who, with folded arms and lowering faces, were standing among the ruins. They were of all ages, grades and uniforms,—boys of fifteen and old men, general officers covered with gold lace, and beggars in rags."*

* Latimer.

"At Montmartre, 12 unfortunate soldiers, who had been made prisoners and conducted there, had their two hands cut off at the wrists, when they were set at liberty."—*Fetridge*. This writer is decidedly inimical to the Commune, and the statement appears in no other record of events, and is the only specific charge of cruelty to prisoners by the Federates we have found. The statement does not seem to be sufficiently substantiated to warrant belief.

The night of Monday-Tuesday was occupied by the Versaillese in massing troops and surrounding Montmartre. The plan was well laid and carried out.

TUESDAY, MAY 23—The attack on Montmartre commenced before daylight, divisions of the attacking force advancing on three sides. The Germans surrendered the neutral ground and the Gate St. Ouen to the Versaillese, who sent in a large body of men by this entrance. In the defence of Montmartre, the Federates aided by the populace, fought with the knowledge that capture meant death as well as disgrace. Men, women and children were shot in the battle or murdered after capture.

“Forty-two men, women and children were taken to Rue des Rosiers, and butchered as holocaust to the manes of Lecomte and Clément-Thomas. The soldiers tried to force them all to kneel; but one woman, with a child in her arms, refused to kneel, shouting to her companions, “Show these wretches that you know how to die standing up.”*

In the final surrender, some hundreds were spared and sent to the Versailles prison pen.

The defence of Montmartre was wholly inadequate to its armament and position. The defences in the rear had been neglected, and this assisted greatly in the speed with which the stronghold was taken. The Federates were informed that they were betrayed; that the Gate St. Ouen and others had been thrown open to

*Bax.

*Cassell conventionally remarks: “There was a species of poetical justice in this which is very striking; the prisoners were marched to Chateau Rouge, or to No. 6 Rue des Rosiers, into the same garden in which, two months before, Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas were shot.”

the Versaillese. So great was the feeling of insecurity that some barricades near by were left without defenders by the retreating Guards.

Vermorel, on horseback, carried the report of Montmartre's fall to the Hotel de Ville, where consternation was the result. Delescluze, generally calm, appeared astounded and dismayed. On hearing the news he is said to have leaped wildly to his feet and exclaimed "Fire, Fire, Fire." These words have been construed by the enemies of the Commune to mean that he meant to put in operation a plan of systematic destruction of the city by conflagration. Other historians declare the words were intended for the troops and that he simply wished to counsel redoubled activity. Placards were issued by him imploring the Versaillese troops to desert to the Communes' standard. There were several other placards issued, signed by various authorities, decreeing the destruction of any house from which the Federates had been shot at, ordering window blinds to be kept open, etc., etc.

At the fall of Montmartre, the Versaillese gained nearly 200 cannon and mitrailleuses. The guns of Montmartre were immediately turned on the Communal strongholds.

There still remained several positions of great strength — Belleville, Père-Lachaise, the Buttes Chaumont, and Menilmontant—who replied to the fire from Montmartre and the other Versaillese cannon.

The Federates who escaped from Montmartre were few, but those immediately hastened to other strongholds to again stay the progress of their adversaries. Barricade after barricade fell. The firing, coming nearer and nearer, alarmed Brunel who had headquarters in the Ministry of

Marine, where was also a hospital for wounded Federates. Firing on this point was presently discovered to be coming from both the North and the South. Brunel feared his escape was about to be cut off, and soon some large buildings were fired, probably by Brunel's orders. His situation becoming serious, shortly after noon, in reply to a request for instruction, he was commanded to blow up the Ministry when defence was no longer possible. Brunel was strongly supported by artillery stationed in the Rue de la Concorde, and continued a vigorous defence. The distribution of the Federates over a huge territory, in many barricades and strong points, enabled the Versailles to centralize on these points and thus destroy the defence in detail.

At the foot of the Boulevard Malesherbes, in the rear of the Church of the Madeleine, was the strong point—the key to the situation, and terrific fighting, lasting for many hours, told of the importance with which it was held. The belfrey was manned by Federate sharpshooters; one of these seeing a Versailles soldier about to shoot, pointed his gun at him, and immediately they discovered that they were father and son, the father defending the Commune from the belfrey. The church was taken by assault. A great number of men on both sides were killed during the fighting, and the Federates captured were shot on the spot.

The barricades at the Croix Rouge—the intersection of six roads was carried after a desperate struggle. Galbain and 18 other Federates were captured and immediately shot to death.

Dombrowski was arrested very early on Tuesday morning, and was confined while Montmartre was being taken. This calamity brought the Com-

munal authorities to a realization of their perilous condition. The necessity of utilizing all available military ability doubtless overruled the vague suspicions upon which the Pole was held. He was released about noon, and, accompanied by his aides, galloped to the barricades, where his bravery and enthusiasm raised the drooping spirits of the defenders for a few moments, when he fell, mortally wounded by a bullet in the abdomen. He asked Dr. Cusco, the surgeon, how long he would live; he was told but a few hours at most. He dictated an order to the Federates to hold the barricades, and then begged the surgeon to kill him that he might be released from his dreadful agony. He lingered until evening, bearing with remarkable fortitude the awful suffering. The body was claimed by Brioncel, who declared it should not be taken by the Versailles. Carried to the Hotel de Ville, the remains lay the night of 22d-23d. On Wednesday morning the coffin was taken to Pere-Lachaise cemetery, the Federates at the barricades reversing their arms as the cortege passed.*

Dombrowski was a refugee from Siberia, who made his way across Russia to France in 1865, and was much hated and feared by the Russian Government. He had fought in the Polish Insurrection of

* In justice to Dombrowski it may be said that, although he appears to have been aware of the plot against the Commune [p. 96] (whose inability to conduct the war must be conceded,) there is nothing to show that either he or the others in the scheme had personal ends in view. The intention was to put the management of the war into the hands of a committee of young and resolute members of the Commune, thus nullifying the latter body in all affairs regarding the war.

It is evident that his stubborn retreat of Monday was a strategical movement of great importance, as it presented a useless sacrifice of life and kept in the hands of the Communists much property of use to them which would have fallen into the hands of the enemy had they won a decisive victory, their power to accomplish which Dombrowski clearly saw. Owing to the great dissatisfaction attending Dombrowski's retreat of Monday, it is intimated that he died from a shot inflicted by one of his own men. This insinuation is not borne out by any ascertainable fact in connection with the affair.

Dombrowski had been twice wounded in previous engagements in this struggle before he received his death wound.

1863. His merit as a soldier and a man is praised by friend and foe alike. Judging from his splendid efforts in the defense of the Commune, he was a man of rare military ability and personal valor.

On the South the Versaillese were having a much more difficult advance. Fierce fighting took place at many points, the Federates showing great courage, though greatly overmatched in numbers. Petit Montrouge was the only point gained in the South by the Versaillese. Eudes is credited with superintending the placing of inflammable material about the Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Palace of the Council of State, barracks, and other government buildings, which were fired. Huge numbers of historical and official documents were destroyed in these buildings. A large number of private houses, probably fired by sparks from the government buildings, were burned, the whole forming a conflagration the magnitude of which was astounding, and its awful magnificance will never be effaced from the memory of those who witnessed the scene of destruction.

Bergeret, with headquarters at the Tuileries, convinced of the utter hopelessness of longer retaining possession, was resolved never to allow these "new usurpers and enemies of the Commune" to occupy this home of kings and emperors. In the evening, flames proclaimed the downfall of this majestic monument to the tyrannical rule of hereditary monarchs and the military usurpers of France. The populace and the Versaillese were now convinced that the city was to be levelled, and it filled the upper and middle classes with an almost inconceivable fury against the Communists.*

*While a convoy of prisoners, several hundred in number, were being marched off for Versailles, with cavalry in the front and rear and regular troops on each side, a well-dressed woman left her escort on the sidewalk and inflicted many blows on some of the female prisoners.—*Washburne*.

Two men alleged to be spies were tried at Petit La Roquette and taken to Rue de la Vacquerie, and shot. A woman, Madeline Epilly, demanded and fired the first shot.

A dozen or more little girls from 8 to 15 years of age, accused of setting fire to buildings, were shot by the Versaillese in the center of the city. Some of their bodies were seen by the Secretary of the United States Legation and the affair reported to Mr. Washburne.*

Every sentiment of honor and humanity of the non-combatants in and out of the city, protested against the massacres of squads of prisoners, especially those which included women and children. So the tactics changed; the females were separated from the male prisoners, the "pétroleuses" were discovered, and the victims found death under a special section of the general edict of murder.†

There is but little evidence that "pétroleuses" (petroleum-throwers) existed, except that scores of women and girls, many of the latter but children, were shot without trial for the offence. At times the women prisoners were abused in the most shameful manner by the Versaillese; the desperate courage of the women enraged the invaders more than the strength of their defence.

On Monday Gustave Chaudey, at the request of his wife, was transferred from Mazas to St. Pelagie prison. Chaudey's wife, a lady of exquisite beauty and great culture, accompanied by

*"On that afternoon one of the employes of my legation counted the dead bodies of eight children in the Avenue d'Antin, the eldest not over 14 years of age, who * * * had been shot on the spot."—*Washburne*.

† To carry a milk-can [or to act as if afraid of the soldiery, a not unnatural action by women in view of the previous murders] was evidence enough to bring on their immediate death. In the trials which followed the Commune, of the several hundred women arrested but four were "convicted" of petroleum-throwing, and this before a "court" formed for sentence rather than for trial.

her son, three or four years of age, visited Rigault and implored him to not impose the death sentence on her husband. Persuasion, entreaties, supplication, tears—all were lost on the implacable Rigault. "No, madam, I can not remit." Then turning to the child, Rigault said: "Yes, little man, we are going to shoot your papa to-morrow."

At 11 o'clock on the night of the 23d, Augustine Ranvier, Governor of the St. Pelagie prison, was directed to bring out for execution Gustave Chaudey and three *gen d'armes*. Rigault superintended the proceedings, and gave all orders, including the order for the execution itself. Chaudey was shot to death by eight Federates; after this, the *gen d'armes* met the same fate.

Gustave Chaudey was a talented advocate; was the executor of P. J. Proudhon, (the well-known writer on political economy.) Chaudey had been generally credited with strong democratic sentiments.

The night of the 23d-24th was one of horror and destruction. The bombardment by the Versailles batteries was steady and effective, the Federate cannon belching their answers at intervals; the sound of musketry and of mitrailleuses was constant. Fires sprang up in all directions, ignited from shells, and rapidly spread by sparks from the buildings evacuated by the Communists.

An explosion occurred at about 12 o'clock in the night which shook the entire city. The fire had reached the large stores of explosives in the Tuileries, and the central part of the beautiful structure was completely demolished.

* Eudes is credited with having sent the following order to one of his officers: "Fire on the Bourse, the Bank, the Post Office, the Place des Victoires, the Place Vendome, the Garden of the Tuileries, the Babylone Barracks; leave the Hotel de Ville to Commandant Pindy, the Delegate of War, and the Committee of Public Safety. The Commune will assemble at the Mairie of the 11th arrondissement; there we will organize the defence of the popular quarters of the city. We will send you cannon and ammunition from the Parc Basfroi. We will hold out to the last, happen what may."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24—Brunel, shortly after midnight, received orders to immediately destroy the Ministry of Marine, after having removed the wounded from the hospitals. The Ministry was evacuated and a false alarm that the building was surrounded, prevented its being fired by the rear guard. It was soon after really surrounded, and all Federates found in the building were immediately killed, most of them being bayoneted to death.

It was decided by the Communists to desert the Hotel de Ville, and late in the day fire appeared various places in the building.

The Federates, under Pindy, were ordered to the Place Bastille. The Committee Central placarded the town, still insisting that a basis of a settlement with the Versaillese should be sought.

The last issue of the *Journal Officiel* was on this day.*

An order was issued to Millière, Dereure, Billioray and Vésinier, assigning them to the work of inspecting and destroying houses suspected of harboring Versaillese troops. The last proclamation issued by the Committee Central was on this date, and called upon the National Guards who were with the Versaillese to join the Federates.

The Ministry of Finance was in flames and added to the scene of fiery splendor. The Palace Royal, grand and noted, fell, and later in the day the Imperial Library, containing nearly 100,000 volumes, many valuable and rare. The Louvre was saved only by the utmost exertions of the invaders. The Versaillese fought the fires vigorously, in many instances in the face of fierce fusilades from the Federates. Early in the day many residences, followed by the Lyric Theatre,

* No paper appeared at all on the 24th, except a little sheet called the *Constitution*, which came out in the evening.—*Washburne*.

the Tapis Rouge and the Theatre St. Martin burned, and a huge volume of smoke, impenetrable by the sun, hung over the city.

The Cathedral of Notre Dame was on fire, but suffered comparatively slight injury, owing to efforts of the medical staff of the Hotel Dieu assisted by firemen.

The "League of the Rights of Paris," a bourgeois Republican organization, protested to the Committee Central against the destruction of property.

The order to kill all Federates taken as prisoners was promulgated from Versailles. This was merely making public what was tacitly understood from the first, and the order designating "Federates" was by the interpretation of the Versaillese officers, made to cover, (through the accusations of incendiarism, petroleum throwing, etc.,) Federates and civilians, women and children. On the morning of the 24th, 13 "pétroleuses" were shot on the Place Vendome, now occupied by the Versaillese troops. The murder of prisoners had become general; Federates, armed or unarmed, were killed on sight, and persons supposed to be upholders of the Communal cause were captured and shot down at the caprice of the captors, or marched to prison. To resist was rewarded by instant death; to protest against the inhumanity of the captors brought the saber stroke of an officer; to lag behind in the march, was to receive a bayonet thrust from a lingard.

The Versaillese captured among others with arms in their hands, a boy 15 years of age; while being pushed against the wall to be shot, he asked that he might visit the concierge who lived opposite, to leave a watch to be delivered as directed; the request was granted, and in a few

moments the lad returned to his place against the wall, spread out his arms and said, "I am ready." With a kindness contrary to anything usually reported of the Versaillese soldiery, the captain gave the youngster a violent kick, saying: "Get away from here, you young rascal."

There was now a conviction on the part of most of the Federates that either a successful defence or any escape was impossible. Thiers closed all orders to the Assembly's commanders with these words: "Let none escape."* There was but one of two things for the beleaguered workers—death or transportation. And the conduct of the defenders from this time showed a decided preference for the loss of life as against the loss of freedom; during this life-destroying grind between the unyielding German line in the rear and the constantly advancing enemy on the front, their courage was worthy of a victory, and their valor is the prominent feature in a lost cause.

A barricade at the Place Blanche was defended by a force of 120 women, whose efforts were almost beyond belief. When defeated, many of them threw themselves upon their antagonists,

*The Bonapartist, Royalist and Clerical vengeance surpassed in infamous ferocity anything that history records. For a month the soldiers of France enraged themselves against all who were guilty, or even suspected of having wished to defend surrendered France and a betrayed Republic. Blood flowed in the prisons, in the barracks, where without defence, men exhausted by misery and famine were massacred. Old men, women, children, the wounded and invalids all furnished material for the destruction of life. The squares were converted into charnel houses, the casemates and the ditches of the fortifications received more lead and dying than quicklime could consume. Assassination became such a habit with the soldiers that the Imperial officers became afraid of the brutes they commanded.

The armies which had surrendered like a flock of sheep were now let loose, by the Germans upon the city they had not, in point of fact conquered by war. The bourgeoisie, always controlled by their cowardly terrors, thought only of saving their own persons and goods. After two months of terror, the mournful history of which will never be known, order reigned over the bodies of 50,000 Frenchmen slaughtered in the preserve and to the great joy of the enemy. The sword of the officers of the Empire became a law to M. Thiers, and now judged the miserable people who had not been moved down by the mitrailleuses.—*Lockwood.*

were run through by bayonets, and died crying "Vive la Commune."

The Guards defending the Bank of France were in constant alarm, getting but little sleep during these days. They slept in the bank, and were seldom able to go out for their meals. The shutters were crenelated and each man was assigned his place.

The Pantheon and its approaches were desperately defended; the attacking force was the concentrated Versaillese army on the South. The courage of the guardians of this position was grand; the number and persistence of the Assembly's troops gained the day, but with great loss. Such slaughter had not yet been seen on the streets as was here shown. The fall of the Pantheon, really considered impregnable, and defended by young and enthusiastic revolutionists, was a crushing blow to the Communal hopes, Lisbonne was at the head of the defence and exhibited skill and bravery.*

The Palace of Justice,† the Prefecture of Police and other buildings occupied by Rigault and Ferré were rapidly being approached by the Versaillese. The Prefecture was deserted. A fire broke out, probably ignited by order of the retiring officials. There was a large number of prisoners who remained in the prison rather than be pressed into the Commune's service at the barricades.

*A terrific explosion of powder occurred about noon while the fighting was fiercest about the Pantheon. The magazine, in a garden back of the Rue d'Ouest, was exploded and great numbers of shops had their fronts blown out; many houses were injured in the neighborhood of the Observatory, and the Palace of the Luxemburg, in common with many lesser buildings, had scarce a whole pane of glass left in it. The clouds of dust obscured the sun and the bewildered and terror-stricken inhabitants, seeking to escape the dangers of falling fragments and buildings, often placed themselves in the range of the bullets of the combatants.

† The site of the Palace of Justice [on an island in the Seine] had been the spot on which the Cæsars resided when Paris was not Paris, but Lutecæ.

“ The Seine furnished abundant water, and all utensils were used by non-combatants to extinguish the flames, and these efforts were partially successful. Over 20,000,000 cartridges and several tons of powder were removed by extraordinary efforts of persons of the neighborhood. These explosives were thrown in the Seine ”*

The prisoners in the Prefecture, including the chemist Borme, were finally liberated.

Raoul Rigault, Procurator of the Commune, was shot at while entering a house on the Rue Gay-Lussac about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The proprietor of the house resembled Rigault and narrowly escaped death, being mistaken for him by the soldiers when they entered the house. Rigault was captured and led out, and an officer questioned him. He replied, “ Yes, I am Rigault; Vive la Commune ! ” The officer shot him with a pistol, and he was riddled with the bullets of the Versaillese soldiery. The body was pounded and disfigured; one eye protruded; the head was a pulpy mass.†

Raoul Rigault was a native of Paris, 26 years of age at the time of his death. He was a law student and had received a good education.‡ He had been a contributor to many journals. His revolutionary tendencies were very vexatious to his father and brothers, who were, in no way, sympathizers in his beliefs. His personal appearance was attractive. * * dark complexioned and short-sighted. * * of a bold, skeptical and uncompromising character, not dismayed by the titles of rank held by men in church or State. Rigault had been elected Chief of Battalion during the Prussian siege. At the election of the 26th of March, he was returned from the 8th arrondissement, and was at once confirmed as the head of the Police Department.

* Latimer.

† Advised that it was Rigault—this was enough for the soldiers and down, like a dog, on the street. There his dead body lay for hours. Men and women went up and kicked it and spit in the face of the assassin. Such was the fitting end of the great leader of the Commune of Paris.—*Washburne*.

‡ Rigault was a medical student.—*J. Simon*.

"His manner was abrupt and had an official style." His hostility to the priesthood was open and avowed; and he is perhaps most to be charged with the proceedings against the ecclesiastics.* His actions in this regard have brought upon him the hatred and calumny of the bourgeoisie press and priesthood. He is credited with extraordinary tact in the discovery of spies and the suppression of Versailles schemes against the Commune. His order for the arrest of Mgr. Darboy is an example of his style: "Arrest at once Darboy [Georges] who calls himself Archbishop of Paris."

"Rigid in his attitude, hard and brief in his words, listening to only the passion which dominated him, * * he spread over Paris an immense web, entangling in its threads all persons hostile to the Communal movement." †

Rigault's conduct, while in the Communal service, was exactly that which should have characterized an officer who desired to advance the interests of the government with which he was associated and would have been applauded by the bourgeois apologists had he been a partner of the Versailles.

Washburne declares that "he linked not a single virtue to a thousand crimes." It is a strange attitude of mind which is condemned, upon moral grounds, arbitrary conduct in the part of an official, under circumstances when it becomes the first duty of the citizen to destroy life. The historians who so fiercely denounce him may be reminded of Rigault's own reply to his critics in the Commune: "War is immoral; and yet we fight."

Sérizier, commanding 10th battalion National Guard, desired a defence to be maintained behind a wall in the yard of a chemist named Dubois; the latter refused to allow this, and a party of Federates was sent to capture him. Sulphuric acid was thrown at them by the chemist, who had taken his position at the head of the stairs in his home. He was shot and killed by Roullie, a Federate 19 years of age.

The Commune's members and the Committee Central had now adjourned to the Mairie of the 11th arrondissement, where in company with

* "He was literally a clerico phobist and a passionate Blanquist * * * Nobody contributed more than Rigault to the loss of the Commune. As a man I esteem Rigault highly; as a public man he was deplorable." This arrest [Darboy's] started the Commune on the road to that quagmire into which Thiers sought to plunge it. * * * The massacre of the hostages—that is to say, an act of stupid violence."—*Cluseret*.

† Fetridge.

Delescluze and other officials, plans to stay the progress of the Versaillese were discussed. Between 30 and 40 of the Communal leaders gave orders and received reports. Comte de Beaufort, formerly an orderly on Cluseret's staff, was seized, maltreated and finally shot by a body of Federates. Uncertain charges were made against Beaufort, scantily supported, but the Federates were not now in a mood to need much proof of infidelity. Suspicions of treachery were prevalent among the Federates.* Several suspected spies were executed.

The execution of the decree to destroy the Expiatory Chapel had been delayed.† M. Libmann opened negotiations for the silver and ornaments and bought them for 5,000 francs. He was trying to make a bargain with Fontaine, Communal Director of Domain, for the material of the chapel, when the Versaillese arrived and took the business out of his hands. The chapel was considerably damaged by shot and shell, but was repaired by order of the Assembly. This church had been erected in memory of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette.

Georges Veysset was taken from prison by Ferré, marched to the statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf. He said to Ferré: "When I was arrested I had 20,000 fr. on me; what has become of it?" Ferré answered: "Be not uneasy, we will settle all accounts at once." Veysset was shot and his body thrown into the Seine.

*Mathieu was shot by the Guards. and had on his person, when captured, was 1,500,000 fr., which sum the insurgents accused him of having received for opening one of the gates of the city to the Versaillese.—*Pettridge*.

NOTE—A decree for the repairs of the Expiatory Chapel erected to Louis XXI was introduced and passed the Assembly 24th May.

†The exertions of M. Libmann to save the Expiatory Chapel were rewarded by a letter from Henri V. Comte de Chambord, in which the latter refers very touchingly to the "patriotism and faith" and the "zeal and courage" of M. Libmann in preserving "the chapel consecrated to the Martyr King."

At the barricades near the Palais Royal a furious battle took place. The Federates and the women and children were displaced only by the onslaughts of vastly superior numbers. The Palais Royal was fired at 3 p. m. The insurgents were driven from the Church of Saint Eustache, and the building was fired, but, by great effort on the part of the Assembly's supporters, was saved from destruction. At this combat a woman in man's apparel was killed; her sex was not discovered until the bodies of the insurgents were thrown into a heap at the corner of the church. The attack at the Theatre Francais was made from three directions; the Guards were beaten, overpowered, clubbed, but refused to surrender and were all put to death at once. At the barricades of the Boulevard Saint Michel, the Federates in that important position, were enabled to check the advance of the Versaillese for many hours; General Patural, the Assembly's commander in this attack, was struck in the leg by a ball, but continued giving his orders with the greatest calmness. The Communal defenders were separated by the river and the defeated Federates and populace, after the day's conflict, were concentrating in points best for defence on both sides of the river, but without any plan of action except of the most temporary and shifting character in each quarter.

The Ministry of Finance was burned, but the "Grand Livre" of France—a series of nearly 3,000 volumes, containing the inscriptions of the public debt of the country, from the commencement of the indebtedness down to the time of the

NOTE—Thiers and Favre entered Paris surrounded by cordons of cavalry on the morning of the 24th. After a short stay they returned to Versailles, and Thiers made known to the Assembly the condition of the city; declared that the "criminals" should be punished implacably; the National Guard to be disarmed and "order" be restored in Paris by and through the Assembly.

Commune, had been taken from the building the day before.

It is evident that whatever destruction and fire in the city was due to projectiles, was very much more chargeable to the Versailles than to the Communists, as the former fired ten times to every cannon discharged by the latter.

The Luxembourg fell after a desperate struggle. Its defenders, who were captured, were bayoneted or shot to death, and buried on the spot.

Preparations for the long threatened shooting of hostages were now made.

A Court Martial was instituted in the 11th arrondissement.* Genton, a Communal Magistrate presided, and, after trial, a list containing the following names—

GEORGE DARBOY, Archbishop of Paris;
M. BONJEAN, Judge of the Court of Cassation;
ABBE DEGUERRY, Cure of the Madeleine,

Was handed to Theophile Ferré, head of Public Security Department.

Ferré proceeded to La Roquette and added three more names to the list :

FATHER DECOUDRAY, Superior of the College of Jesuits.
FATHER CLERCQ, Professor in the College of Jesuits.
ABBE ALLARD, Chaplain to the Ambulances.

An order for the delivery of these prisoners was handed Ranvier.

Upon the receipt of the order for the prisoners, Henrion, the prison keeper, made an excuse that he would go for the keys. These he had with him, and as he hurriedly walked away, he threw them into a heap of filth, and by the aid of a five-franc gold piece, gained the outside of the city, and sought refuge at Vincennes.† Other keys

*March.

†Latimer.

were found after some time, and the prisoners were called into the corridor. Judge Bonjean, when notified, speaking from his cell, replied: "In a moment, I am putting on my coat." "You will need no coat where you are going," replied a Federate.

It was about 8 p. m. when the hostages were taken out of their cells.* While going down a small flight of stairs, the Archbishop was in advance, and raising his hands, blessed his condemned companions. Bonjean, an aged man, fainted and had to be assisted. The hostages were conducted to the prison yard. Mgr. Darboy, while expostulating with the Federates, and begging them to forego the shooting, was accused by one of the party of having acted against the people.† The Archbishop proclaimed himself a "friend of liberty" to which a Federate replied, "yes, but *your* liberty is not *ours*." There was a fierce struggle among the Federates as to who should do the shooting on this occasion, so many there were who wished to avenge the loss of a brother, a father or a friend murdered by the Versaillese. Darkness rendered the use of lanterns necessary, and by their flickering light the spectators viewed the trembling prisoners ranged against the wall which surrounded the prison grounds.

The firing party of 40, which included Mégy, Verig and Lolive, on order from Ranvier, fired a volley at the hostages. Five were killed. Mgr. Darboy, standing up, was shot with a musket by a Federate, after which Verig shot him with a

* Instead of receiving the respect due his rank, he [Darboy] was treated as a vulgar criminal.—*Washburne*.

†Mgr. Darboy was suspected of having provisions secreted in his palace and in the Cathedral of Notre Dame during the siege by the Germans which made the Parisian public very apathetic regarding his release.

‡ Two or three Federates knelt to receive the Archbishop's blessing; they were kicked, jeered at and otherwise roughly treated by their companions.

pistol. The Archbishop, just as the order to fire was being given, raised his right hand to give his episcopal blessing. "That's your benediction, is it? Now take mine" said Lolive, and he fired a pistol bullet into the Archbishop's body.*

The bodies and the cells of the executed hostages were relieved of all valuables. The corpses were taken to Père-Lachaise cemetery, where they were thrown into an open trench, from whence they were removed by the Versaillese when they captured the cemetery.

Monseigneur Darboy was 58 years of age. He was born in a village in Upper Marne, at Fayl-Billot, the 16th of January, 1813.

George Darboy was educated at the Seminary of Langres, where he passed most brilliant examinations.*

In 1854, during a voyage which he made to Rome with the Archbishop, the Pope conferred on him the title of Apostolic Prothonotary. Finally, after being named Titular Vicar-General of Paris, he became, in 1859, Bishop of Nancy.

A decree of the 10th of January, 1863, designed him for the archiepiscopal seat of Paris, where he was precognized the 16th of March, and installed the 21st of April of the same year.

On January 8th, 1864, he became Grand Almoner of the Emperor and a decree of the following October called him to the Senate. He was a member of the Council of Public Instruction, and grand-officer of the Legion of Honor in 1868.

The moderate and conciliatory political role which Monseigneur Darboy endeavored to fill after his elevation to the archiepiscopacy did not always succeed. The persistent refusal of the Pope to accord a cardinal's hat to the Archbishop of Paris was for a long time considered as a sign of a misunderstanding between them. Monseigneur Darboy, however, protested against the existence of anything of the kind in a pastoral letter, written on the fiftieth anniversary of the priesthood of Pius IX.*

"He was one of the most charming and agreeable of men and was beloved alike by rich and poor. He had spent his whole life in acts of charity and benevolence"†

*The Archbishop, in a conversation with M. Rousse, Staffman of the Order of Advocates, who visited him in his cell at Mazas, said "I have incurred, on account of my ideas on certain subjects, the disfavor of the Court of Rome. When I was called to the Archbishopric of Paris, I explained to the Emperor my views regarding the separation of Church and State. I begged him to occupy himself as little as possible with the clergy." (

† Washburne.

The Abbe Deguerry was born in Lyons in 1797, and was the son of a wood merchant. At his death he was seventy-four years of age. After having commenced his studies at the seminary of his native city, he went to finish them at the College of Villefranche. During 1820-24 he was professor of philosophy, theology, and eloquence, and finally became preacher. In 1824 he preached at Lyons; in 1825 and 1826 at Paris. The following year he was named almoner of the 6th regiment of the Royal Guard by Charles X. He followed his regiment to Orleans, to Rouen, and Paris, until 1830. In 1828, he pronounced at Orleans a discourse in eulogy of Joan of Arc which twenty-eight years later [1856] he was called upon to repeat. In 1840, M. Deguerry became canon of Notre-Dame, and in 1844, arch-priest. The following year he was made cure of Saint Eustache, and in 1849 cure of the Madeleine. In 1868 he was charged with religious instruction of the Prince Imperial. Decorated in May, 1846, he was made officer of the Legion of Honor in 1853, and commander 8th of May, 1868. M. Deguerry was the author of many religious works.

Friends of the imprisoned priests made some efforts to avert the fate which the continued barbarities of the Versaillese held over the heads of the ecclesiastics.* There were deputations and much correspondence. United States Minister, Washburne, was unremitting in his efforts to save the Archbishop.† All offers of exchange for Blanqui had been definitely refused.‡

* The Archbishop of Paris; writing from prison, wrote a letter to M. Thiers making inquiries regarding the cruelties said to have been inflicted upon prisoners taken by the Versaillese. Thiers, through the Paris journals, replied that all prisoners taken were treated with the utmost consideration. The truth of this statement may be estimated by the newspaper reports and other evidence.

† "Relying on the good relations existing between the government of the United States and their country," the Pope's nuncio, Flavius Chigi, asked Mr. Washburne to, if possible, obtain the deliverance of the Archbishop "that the cause of humanity and civilization might cease to suffer in his person."

‡ "I examined the question from a political point of view. It is to the interest of the Versaillese that the Archbishop should be assassinated and Blanqui detained. * * By the first the Commune is put out of the pale of civilization and by the second, it is deprived of its most experienced political leader. * * Asking them to renounce two advantages without any compensation—it was insanity. * * If the Commune does not put the Archbishop to death, Thiers will * * in order to charge the murder on the Commune, giving the Versaillese a double claim on Blanqui; therefore it is our interest to save the Archbishop. If Blanqui were in Paris he might save the Commune. * * He would have taken the political conduct of affairs into his own hands and left me free to devote myself wholly in the defence of Paris. Accustomed to discipline, he would have disciplined his people and allowed me to discipline mine."—*Chuseret*.

The church officials, on the whole, seemed not greatly displeased at the death of the Archbishop, as there was a difference of opinion upon certain affairs regarding Church and State in upper ecclesiastical circles, and Darboy had made himself obnoxious to his colleagues. In fact, as E. Belfort Bax characteristically expresses it: "This (the offer of exchange for Blanqui) was refused, partly, perhaps, at the instigation of the Ultramontane Catholics, who were strong in the Assembly, and to whom Darboy, who was a Gallican *i. e.* who favored an independent attitude of the French clergy towards the Papal pretensions, was by no means a *persona grata*. By his death they would kill two birds with one stone; get a Christian martyr on the cheap, and probably obtain for one of their own men the wealthy diocese of Paris."

After the coup of 1851, when the people stubbornly defended the barricades, Napoleon III had broadened and so arranged the streets, avenues and boulevards that they could be swept by machine guns. He did not take into consideration the possibility that mitrailleuses might be in the hands of the people, as they now were, and placed in street fortifications of such strength and magnitude as had never before been seen.

"The Parisian," wrote Rossel, "recovers in the war of barricades the vigor in which he is deficient for defending ramparts, or in open warfare. The possibility of taking flight, and escaping the consequences of defeat by going home, only to resume his arms at a convenient moment, gives him the same feeling of safety which regular troops derive from the 'shoulder to shoulder,' and the companionship under their flag. It is not a paradox to say that the uniform deprives the rioter of a portion of his courage. The men in

blouses have more energy, more dash, and more military valor than the National Guards, and especially than the officers."

In taking the barricades the Versaillese soldiery slipped from corner to corner, from doorway to doorway, improvising barricades by pushing a barrel out to crouch behind, then another, keeping up an incessant and deadly fusillade of musketry. While this was the order of advance on the ground, the Assembly's troops invaded buildings looking down on the defenders and from windows and roofs picked them off with almost perfect safety to themselves. The barricades were in the end assaulted, but this method was not in much vogue until great weakness was shown in defence. The Federates seem to have fired but little from the houses, contenting themselves entirely with the protection of barricades in the last days. Neither artillery or cavalry of the Versaillese appear to have been generally effective in the street fighting, but the well-directed valor of the Assembly's troops, their great numerical preponderance and thorough discipline, together with the sagacity of their chiefs, made the advance alike steady and successful.

The artillery service of the Versaillese was at all times more effective than that of the Federates. There was an abundance of ammunition, and an ample supply of men, and these of a much superior efficiency in this branch to the gunners of the Federates. The firing from Valerien was particularly conspicuous as being not only much more accurate than that of the Federates, but far superior to any of the artillery work of the Prussians while besieging the city. The cannonading duel inside the city discovered the same superiority

that had been seen in the Assembly's artillerists in the exterior fortifications.

The Bank, the Bourse, the Luxemburg, the Conservatory of Music, the Exchange, Porte St. Denis, Monotholon Square, St. Vincent de Paul. Northern and Strasburg railway station, the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires and the Post-office and other important buildings were taken by the Assembly's troops. The Hotel de Ville, a mass of flames, splendid even in its destruction, was entered by the Versaillese at 9 o'clock in the evening. A large number of Federates captured at the barracks near the Hotel de Ville, were immediately killed by bayonet thrusts and sabre slashes.

Wednesday was a day of overwhelming defeat for the Commune. Their strongholds were falling and there was not an offset in any way favorable to the Federates. The unburied bodies of human beings, now advancing in decomposition, and the pools of blood in the gutters added a deathly stench to the already heavily laden air. The night of the 24th-25th was the time of the display of the most dreadful work of the combat. The cannonading by the Versaillese could no longer be distinguished by shots, but the artillery fire poured upon the Communist strongholds was one continuous roar. "The musketry fire was so constant as to resemble the whistling rush of a mighty wind, occasionally varied by the rattle of the mitrailleuses."

The air was hot with the fires almost countless in number; the smoke and heat made respiration difficult.

The Ministry of Finance, the Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Palace Royal, the Tuileries, and the Hotel de Ville, together with others of scarcely less cost, elegance and celebrity, were

prominent features in the glaring panorama on this dreadful night.

From the heights outside the walls on the West of the city, the magnificent but mournful spectacle was witnessed by members of the National Assembly.

The scene of destruction, viewed from a distance, indeed presented a wondrous sight. But a near approach developed the magnitude of the disaster and the terror of the event. Tongues of flame streamed from the public buildings, and embers hurled from the great heights of these central objects in the areas of fire, spread wide the measure of havoc. The continuous roar of cannon and mitrailleuses was mingled with the crackle of flames and the crash of falling buildings. Occasionally an explosion made the earth tremble and sent showers of fiery sparks on their mission of destruction. The towering domes of palaces rocked and fell before the progress of the conflagration as great trees wave and sink before the gale. And over the whole hung a canopy of smoke and cinders so lurid, so murky, as to almost shut out the light of the sun and completely hide the celestial dome at night. At intervals torrents of flame leaped through the clouds of smoke and illumined the sky, discovering to those at long distances from the scene the immensity of the conflagration. The air was filled with burning sheets of paper and rolls of parchment, carried high on the heated atmosphere from archives and libraries. Hundreds of buildings were razed; among these many of the grandest and most beautiful in the world; engulfed in this sea of flame, soon left but blackened walls and dismal ash pits to mark the place where stood the pride of Europe's proudest capital.

THURSDAY, MAY 25—When the street hostilities began the Tuileries and the Hotel de Ville were vomiting smoke, flame and sparks like rival volcanoes. The Assembly's military chiefs had been censured by the press and public of France and other countries for prolonging the combat, the result of which was a foregone conclusion. Thursday's work was rapid and bloody.

Early in the day Thiers sent a dispatch to the prefects, which shows the tenor of the Versailles sentiment: "The soil of Paris is strewn with dead bodies. This horrible spectacle will serve, it is hoped, as a lesson to the insurgents who dared to declare themselves partisans of the Commune. The army has been admirable. * * * The loss among our troops has been very slight."

Men fighting behind barricades as were the Communists, must be much less likely to injury than the attacking forces. But it will be noticed that the soil is strewn with dead bodies, and the "loss among our troops has been very slight." The latter is a questionable statement, but the murder of prisoners did "strew the soil with bodies," and taught the Communists and the proletarians of the world the lesson that death is the lot of the worker under capitalism, whether in slavish submission or open revolt.

The fury of revenge was on; a carnival of death was instituted. Every soldier was at liberty to inflict death upon any one he chose to denounce, or over whose person he gained control.*

During the days after the entrance of the Assembly's troops, denunciations were common.

* "That there were very many innocent people killed there can be no doubt."—*Washburne*.

* "To point out a man as a Communard was almost certain death, and that there were a great many innocent people killed there can be very little doubt. Arrests were made by the government authorities by the wholesale. The innocent and the guilty were alike embraced."—*Washburne*.

Private grievances were settled by the persons who first obtained a hearing with the Versailles officers. To be pointed out as a Communist was almost equivalent to a death sentence. Obnoxious creditors, political enemies, family quarrels—all found the revenge so easy of attainment.

“I turned sad and sick, from the spectacle of wanton destruction, to be saddened and sickened yet further by another spectacle. Versaillist soldiers, hanging about the foot of the Rue St. Honoré, were enjoying the cheap amusement of Communard hunting. Very eager in this patriotic duty were the dear creatures of women. They knew the rat-holes into which the poor devils has squeezed themselves, and they guided the Versaillist soldiers to the spot with a fiendish glee. *Voilà*, the brave of France, returned to such a triumph from an inglorious captivity! They have found him, then, the miserable! Yes, they have seized him from out one of the purlieus which Haussmann had not time to sweep away, and a guard of six of them hem him round as they march him into the Rue St. Honoré. A tall, pale, hatless man, with something not ignoble in his bearing. His lower lip is trembling, but his brow is firm, and the eye of him has some pride and indeed scorn in it. “A veritable Communard?” I ask of my neighbor in the throng. “Questionable,” is the reply; “I think he is a milk-seller to whom the woman who has denounced him owes a score.” They yell, the crowd,—my neighbor as loud as any,—“Shoot him! Shoot him!”—the demon-woman most clamorous, of course. An arm goes up into the air; there are on it the stripes of a non-commissioned officer, and there is a stick in the fist at the end of the arm. The stick descends on the bare head of the pale

prisoner. Ha! the infection has caught; men club their rifles and bring them down on that head, or clash them into splinters in their lust for murder. He is down; he is up again; he is down again—the thuds of the gun-stocks sounding on him just as when a man beats a carpet with a stick. * They are firing into the flaccid carcass now; thronging around it as it lies prone, like blow-flies on a piece of meat. Faugh! his brains are out and oozing into the gutter, whither the carrion is presently heaved bodily, to be trodden on and mangled presently by the feet of multitudes and the wheels of gun-carriages.”*

Thus the work of “order” went on.

Millière was captured in the house of a relative after firing on his captors with a pistol. He had been active in attempts to get a peaceful arrangement of affairs, but, seeing the utter depravity of the Assembly, he became zealous in resisting them on behalf of the Commune. After his capture he was brought before General de Cisse and staff. His firm demeanor exasperated the commanders. Millière was conducted to the door of the Pantheon, where he was first placed with his back to the troops to receive his death; but to more humiliate the brave man, he was commanded to kneel, facing his executioners.

Garcin, the officer in charge, said that the order was that Millière should “die kneeling, and asking pardon of society for the ill he had done.” Two men forced him to his knees. Millière uncovered his breast, and cried “Vive le Republique! Vive le Peuple! Vivé l’Humanite.” Here he fell riddled with bullets, and an officer rushed up and shot him through the head with a revolver. Millière was a doctor of laws, had been elected a

* Archibald Forbes,

member of the National Assembly, but resigned to support the Communal cause. He was much admired and respected by those with whom he was associated.

“In the Boulevard Voltaire might now be seen all the true-hearted men who had not perished, or whose presence was not indispensable in their quarters. One of the most active was Vermorel, who during the whole struggle showed a courage composed at once of fire and coolness.”

It was reported that United States Minister Washburne had offered the mediation of the Germans. After much debate among the leaders, Delescluze and three others were delegated to accompany the Secretary of the United States Minister to the fort of Vincennes to arrange an armistice. The delegation was refused passage at the Vincennes gate by the Federate guards, who suspected them of endeavoring to escape, a suspicion which filled Delescluze with grief and indignation.

Thursday forenoon funeral ceremonies were held over Dombrowski's body at Péré-La chaise cemetery. Vermorel made an address containing a severe invective against the Federates, whom the speaker declared “had deserted the General at the time he was shot.” Vermorel gave a glowing tribute to the virtues and talents of the dead soldier, and closed by saying:

Friends: It is meet that we here who stand by the grave of Dombrowski should not sob. We here who see that the CAUSE for this once is lost let us not cry out in the face of death. For we leave his new-made grave only for a day or an hour. Yes, thou mighty Shade, resting now but little ways above us, tarry until we come to keep thee company. We shall not let thee go alone, dear friend, nor untended. But a short space of time, and we who now surround your bloody corpse, with souls set free from tyrants' chains, will stand beside thee.

We are men who have blood that we may shed instead of tears. And it being so let the world weep for whom we die,—not we, who go

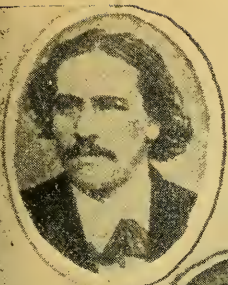
out glad-hearted saluting Death and striking off our fetters with a smile.

If we have tears at all 'tis but because this man who drew his sword for Freedom in every struggling land, whose life was made up of glory, of years of toil for others, whose heart had no selfish spot, who was so great, and wise, and brave, and true, should have fallen before his eyes were gladdened by the dawning light. We, who surround him now, behold it! For I say unto you that this precious martyr's blood holds the seeds of the Morning. I tell you that those who shall weep are the poor, the toilers, the slaves. I tell you that weeping for us they shall wake to FINISH what we have begun! What think ye will they find most precious, the gold of Capital or the martyr's blood that stains it?

Let us not weep, my brothers, we have now naught else to do but die.

Dombrowski was dressed in a Polish jacket, rested upon a Federate blanket, and was wrapped in a red flag. Those gathered there took a last look at their dead leader. Dombrowski's brother wrote a few words in pencil on the coffin. The simple ceremonies were so touching that it is said there was, not one present but that shed tears. Those who attended the funeral went immediately to the defence of the barricade.

Fort Montrouge, Bicêtre and Ivry, after an intermittent defence, surrendered to the Versaillese. Delescluze had ordered Ragowski, commander at Ivry, to explode the four powder magazines on évacuation. One magazine exploded, but the debris resulting from this explosion extinguished the fuse, preventing further destruction of the fort. Wroblewski ordered Léo Meillet, commander at Bicêtre, to evacuate and explode the magazines. This was frustrated by the rapid advance of the Versaillese, which hastened the abandonment. At the fall of these forts and the redoubts of Hautes Bruyères and Villejuif, 6,000 or 8,000 men were captured by the Versaillese. Serizier attended to the transfer of 20 Dominican monks to the city. They were taken to the



LISBONNE



ROSSEL



URBAIN



ELISEE RECLUS



MIOT



ROCHEFORT



VERMOREL



VESINET



FERRE



LESAGARAY



LEFRANCAIS



BLANQUI



TRINQUET

disciplinary prison on the Boulevard d'Italié, where there were confined a hundred or more insubordinate Federates and some persons arrested under suspicion of being spies.

The Gobelin tapestry factory was now held by Serizier for a time, but was relinquished and set on fire.

The Assembly's troops advanced rapidly. The barricades were being flanked, and the position was desperate.

Louis Boin (known as Bobèche) in charge of the disciplinary prison was absent when an order came from Serizier to send the Dominicans to work on the barricades. Boin's assistant sent some National Guards instead of the priests. When Boin returned to the prison he was infuriated, and exclaimed: "Shall patriots be sacrificed while these priests do nothing." He ordered them out to the barricade. The Friar of the Dominicans refused to assist in the street defence. Boin then, according to orders which he now received from Serizier, called upon the "skull caps" (priests) to "come out and save themselves." As they came out, one at a time, as ordered, they were shot at by a party of volunteers, men and women, headed by Serizier. Those who escaped the fusillade were hunted and shot in the neighboring streets. The streets and the windows of the houses were filled with spectators, who exhibited, by cheers and laughter, their amusement at the terror of the priests and at their frantic efforts to escape. Eight did get away. The prison was soon after surrounded by Versaillese, and the Federates and others in the neighborhood attempted to escape with but ill success, as they were shown no quarter.

The Butte aux Cailles, the Austerlitz and Bercy bridges and a number of strong positions and a large number of prisoners had fallen to the Versaillese. The Communist gunboats had been taken and turned on the Federates, who, falling back, fired the huge graneries, 400 yards in length. The railway station and Mazas prison were taken by the Versaillese and Garreau, governor of Mazas, was immediately shot. He had been confined by his subordinates, whose sympathies were for the Assembly. Food had been scarce; the prisoners had been offered freedom, but they remained rather than defend the barricades in behalf of the Commune, which they would have been forced to do had they left prison.

It was decided in the afternoon to transfer the numerous hostages held in La Roquette prisons to Belleville Mairie and church. Emile Gois, at the head of 35 Federates, now undertook the transfer of as many as possible. On an order from Ferré, Francois, the prison governor, ordered 52 hostages given over to the Federates; these were 11 priests, 4 secret agents of the Empire and 37 gen d'armes. Immediately after leaving the prison, Gois called on the commander of a Federate battalion defending a barricade for extra men to increase the convoy, the populace showing sympathy for the prisoners. The request was granted. It proved unnecessary, as the people of the next quarter menaced the prisoners as they were taken toward Rue de Puebla. At this point some Federates, driven in from the West, asked that the prisoners be given them to be shot forthwith. The hostages were, however, taken to the Belleville Mairie,⁹ where they were received by Ranvier, who immediately said to them: "You have a quarter of an hour in which to make your wills if you wish."

The populace was vociferous in its demands for their execution, supposing, apparently, that they were prisoners taken in battle. An impromptu cortege was formed, with clarions and drums ranking behind a vivandière carrying a sword and astride a horse. Gen d'armes, Imperialists and priests, well guarded, in the order named, took up their march for the ramparts, which was to be the place of their execution. The procession was headed by the horsewoman and enlivened by the sound of martial music, the populace taking a lively part in and evidently enjoying the proceedings. Stones and other missiles were hurled at the hostages, perspiring under the unwonted activity of their movements to keep up the swift pace adopted. The priests were especially susceptible to the unusual exertions, and their evident physical distress made them the butt of ribaldry and ridicule. After some hesitation, during which the crowds were clamorous and tumultuous, the house at 83 De la Rue Haxo, the military headquarters of the district, was fixed on as the place of execution. In the house was Oudet, suffering from wounds; many other members and sympathizers of the Commune were here. Hippolyte Parent, now one of the principal Communal officers, was present. Varlin, seeing the intent of the affair, threw himself before the hostages as if to protect them, and addressing Parent, begged the Committee Central to "show that they were not assassins." Parent was silent; helpless even had he wished to prevent the killing, which is extremely doubtful. Varlin insisted on speaking. The Federates and the populace desired to proceed with the shooting, and finally Varlin was carried away forcibly by his friends, the Federates saying: "Go, advocate; the men must die in justice of the people." The hostages

were forced along toward a building in process of erection, and, imitating, the example of the vivandière who struck one of the hostages with her sabre, a fusillade of shots was begun by the Federates directed toward the prisoners, which continued until they were all dead. Now comes a recital unparalleled but well authenticated. The hostages were forced to jump over a low wall singly and were shot while taking the flight. "One priest refused to make the jump; a Federate attempted to throw him over, and the priest and soldier were both shot while struggling for the mastery."

A more useless series of acts than these killings of priests cannot well be imagined. When war is appealed to, the decisions of reason are surrendered to the passions and operations of brute force. That the lives of the hostages had been forfeited hundreds of times by the law of equal reprisals can not be questioned. That their destruction was cruel none can deny. But "when men were compelled to fight in self-defence they must hate and avenge. This may be bad; but it is human nature."* "War is immoral, yet we fight."

Seven avenues or boulevards open in the Place du Chateau-d' Eau; all had been barricaded, and the capture of the approaches to these strong points occupied the day for the Versaillese, who were met by a stubborn and destructive resistance. The evening saw these barricades attacked, and the line of battle extended to hem in the strongholds of these Federates.

On the order of Ferré, Genton took from La Roquette prison the Mexican banker Jecker, and

* Macaulay.

assisted by Francois and Verig, conducted him to a vacant lot in the neighborhood and shot him.

At Belleville Mairie, Trinquet, as a magistrate, sentenced a regular soldier named Rothe to death for simulating sickness to avoid service for the Commune. He was shot in the court of Mairie. Two Federates, by Trinquet's order, were also shot here for neglect of duty.

The Place Royale was in the hands of the Versaillese, and it was intended by them to attack the Place de la Bastille in the morning. Marquis de Segoyer, commanding the advance battalion, making a personal reconnoitre about midnight, was set upon and killed, and his valuables were missing when his corpse was found in the morning. His body was burned by his clothing becoming ignited by embers blown from the surrounding fires, and it was commonly reported that the Federates had, after capturing him, applied petroleum, and burned him to death. His wounds and the character of the burns on his body disproved this story advanced by the friends of the dead officer.

By nightfall all the territory south of the Seine was in the hands of the Assembly's troops.

As the Federates retreated they left a trail of flame. A great number of fires were undoubtedly ignited by the shells of the Versaillese, and it has been declared that many fires were actually set by agents of the Assembly, in order that nothing should be left undone which should bring disrepute upon the Communists.*

It is estimated that more than 200 fires were burning this night—25th—26th—some of immense magnitude. The result of Thursday's fighting was that but the northeast part of the city was left in the hands of the Federates.

*"Several *Sergens de Ville*, from the Versailles Government were caught with incendiary shells in Paris."—*Sketchley*.

FRIDAY, MAY 26—A space of about five square miles was the limit of territory held by the Commune when Friday dawned, and the encirclement of the Communist positions was the first work of the Versaillese. Place de la Bastille, Place du Trone, Point Villette, Place Prince, Eugene, the Buttes Chaumont and the Pere-Lachaise cemetery, the last two positions having strong artillery equipments, were the principal posts of defense.

The Federates, strongly intrenched at the Place de la Bastille, were flanked by the Versailles troops. No more severe fighting characterized the defence than that at this point, and the defenders were skillfully disposed and officered. Several hundreds of prisoners were taken by the Versaillese. The total loss of life was appalling; piles of the dead, lying where they fell, lined the ground back of the defences and the streets were plentifully strewn with the corpses of those which had fallen from the ranks of the victors. A hundred bodies of Federates were found behind one barricade. As the Federates retreated, fires sprung up in the Rue de la Roquette. The Place du Trone, to which the Federates had retired, was assaulted and taken toward evening, the same scenes as at the Place de la Bastille being repeated.

On the North the Federates were gradually forced back, though their artillery continually poured a deadly fire on the advancing Versaillese. As the Federates were driven from La Villette and vicinity, fires appeared in the docks, in the immense warehouses (containing huge stores of wine, oil and dried fish) bonded stores, sugar refineries, and in the workshops of the Paris Carriage Company. In this building a tremendous amount of provisions—(stored by the Government of the National Defence) were destroyed, with more than

700 carriages, in all one of the greatest of the prodigious fires of the week. Many Federates were shot when captured, accused of setting fires, and some were imprisoned by the victors in the burning buildings and roasted to death.

Delescluze was chided by his associates for a short absence from the headquarters; taking his hat and cane he walked into the heat of the combat, and was killed. He left the War Office about 3 p. m., and at the Chateau d'Eau, was struck by three bullets. He was dressed in civilian attire, and was evidently filled with deepest emotion, for he silently pressed the hands of those he passed, evidently bent on seeking his death, as he had promised, beside those who were battling for the cause.

This sketch of Delescluze is from the pen of William Du Gas Trammell.

“Louis Charles Delescluze, the Tancred of the Commune, was born at Deux in 1809. In his youthful days, he resided in Paris and studied law, which he abandoned because he said it was the “logic of rascals to shield murder and theft.” He was imprisoned in 1834 for taking part in the April Revolution. This was the first of his long series of punishments for political offenses. He went to Belgium in 1835 to escape punishment for a political conspiracy. He returned to Paris, where he founded a journal called the *Revolution Democratique et Sociale*. This publication soon brought him fifteen months' imprisonment and a 20,000 franc fine.

After a liberty of about eight years he was sentenced to transportation. He was in England, and remained there for some time after the sentence was passed, but returned to Paris in 1853, and was immediately transferred to Belle Isle and finally to Cayenne. These sojourns lasted until 1858, when an amnesty allowed him to return to Paris. He immediately founded another journal *Le Reveil*, which brought him three terms of imprisonment and as many fines within a year.

He met Gambon on the way, Delescluze only said “Lost again. Humanity will look to another time, and may be to another place, but the final triumph cannot be far off. It will be sufficient reward if we hastened it.

The people had been at their post in the midst of this horrible scene for 13 hours—many of them for two days. They were covered

with sweat, many of them with blood, and blackened with powder. The ground was strewn with splinters, balls and fragments of shells. The gutters were flowing with blood. Delescluze took his place at the barricade and commenced firing with his revolver. The carnage was now fearful. The walls were battered down and the people were falling thick under the fire of the chassepots. About two o'clock they were fiercely assaulted at every point. Exhausted with fatigue, more than half of them dead on the ground, and overpowered on every side, the brave people, though they fought with the fury of despair, were all either killed or disarmed. Not a man, not a woman, not a child surrendered. Every one fought till the last; till the soldiers, sick of carnage, wrested their arms from them. Late in the afternoon the body of Delescluze was found riddled with balls and surrounded by the corpses of 28 soldiers. And the next day it was officially announced by the Versailles Government that "the too guilty Delescluze had been picked up dead by the troops of General Clinchant.

Delescluze, forgetful of self, lived a life entirely devoted to the cause of the poor and oppressed; and when the hour came he embraced death, as he had devoted his life without a murmur and without a regret. His heroism will ever live, in spite of all princes and politicians and priesthoods, to elevate the affection, clear the visions and strengthen the arms of heroes."

Vermorel, who accompanied Delescluze, was wounded, captured and taken to Versailles, where he died three weeks later.*

Vermorel was born at Denice near Lyons in 1841. His education was completed at a very early age and at twenty he was engaged on two opposition papers, *Le Jeune France* and *La Jeunesse*. These papers were quickly suppressed and Vermorel received a term of

* Vermorel is said to have accompanied Delescluze for the purpose of watching him, as Delescluze had been accused by some of his colleagues of being about to desert.

Delescluze, shortly before his death, declared the Commune's cause lost. "For me," he said, "I feel that my last political struggle against Monarchy and Imperialism is at an end. I shall die myself, I know; but I feel convinced that for every drop of mine and the Commune's blood, five men will one day spring forward to avenge us, and to establish, in a few years, that which, owing to our backward education, have failed to establish now."

The body of Delescluze was secreted or destroyed by the Versaillese, for fear it might at some future time be buried with ceremonies which would arouse the insurrectionary spirit. Delescluze is the only man in military position during the Commune who wore no uniform, gold lace or insignia.

It has been stated that Delescluze, recognizing his inability to fill the position of head of War Department, was in constant secret communication with Rossel, who gave advice regarding the conduct of military affairs.

imprisonment for his connection with them. He was subject to the vicissitudes of a revolutionary journalist's career, undergoing several years imprisonment and being compelled to abandon a journal which he had begun on account of the multiplicity of fines imposed upon it. During the siege of Paris, he served as a private in the National Guards.*

The Mairie of the 20th arrondissement—Belleville—was now the central point of the Communal defence, and the limited number of members of the Commune and of the Committee Central, who were on the scene of action, showed that there had been many desertions from the central bodies. It was openly alleged that many had disguises prepared to aid in their escape; some had been captured in disguise, and the disappearance of a member even for a few moments excited the distrust of the leaders. It was this suspicion which had met Delescluze, and recriminations regarding the intentions of members were common and open. The nearness of the approaching line of battle increased every feeling of revenge and distrust in the hearts of the caged leaders of the declining defence.

The universal thing in Paris was disorder. The populace, the Federates and Communal leaders were filled with anxiety, confusion and despair; nothing more clearly illustrates their condition than the running from one barricade to another; the absence of discipline; and in the awful disregard for death exhibited by the men at the last stands, or the women who, crying "Vive la Commune," rushed on the bayonets or sabres of the invaders.†

* Wm. Du Gas Trammell.

† An English medical student writing of the Commune says: "I saw a battalion of women fighting with Snyder rifles. Among them were many pretty young girls. They fought like devils; far better than the men; and I had the pain of seeing 52 of them shot down, even when they had been surrounded by troops and disarmed."

The courage of the Communists was undaunted. They fought with endless vigor and tenacity.*

"That their position was desperate was beyond a doubt; and this they quite recognized, but were resolute to hold on to the bitter end. Their efforts were really heroic. * Above the smoke of the villainous gunpowder the summer sun was shining brightly, and spite of the powder-stench and the smell of blood the air was balmy."

Edouard Moreau, the prominent Central Committeeman, in endeavoring to escape from the city, was captured, disguised as a woman; after a form of trial, he was shot at Versailles. A man was erroneously denounced as Billioray, and although he protested, was shot without much effort to identify him. It was afterward discovered that the person shot was a peaceful noncombatant. Another by name Vaillant, thought to be the Communist of that name, narrowly escaped death. There were scores of such cases. "The last vestige of consideration for human life had now left the invaders.

The Place d' Château d' Eau fell into the hands of the Versaillese. It was the stronghold, next to Montmartre, most formidable yet encountered. Its defence was valorous, but the lack of discipline and numbers finally yielded. The loss of life on both sides was very great. Brunel was wounded, and Lisbonne wounded and captured. At this encounter about 40,000 troops were engaged.

* In many cases the National Guards, refusing to surrender, were hewn down behind the barricades. * * The fighting was long, desperate and severe. The insurgents fought at every step with fury and despair.—*Washburne.*

The independent soldiery "Avengers of Paris" and others were active in the street fighting and the women and boys of the working-classes were a very considerable factor in the barricade building and defence; indeed it has been asserted that the women and boys contributed more to the energy and stubbornness of this branch of warfare than did the Federates.

The prisoners, taken by the Versaillese, abused and maltreated though they were while being hurried through the streets, bore in most instances upon their faces the pride of their cause.

Advantageous positions for renewing the fray in the morning were taken by both sides, and the final struggles were fought by the desperate Federates against such odds and numbers as to be absolutely hopeless, partaking more of the aspect of a massacre than of a battle.

Jules Favre addressed a telegram to all diplomatic representation of France in foreign countries, requesting to have stopped and returned all fugitives from the Commune.

Treilhard was shot at the Place du Pantheon.

Vésinier, for a time editor of the *Journal Officiel* of the Commune, was arrested.

SATURDAY, MAY 27—A day of sombre aspect, cloudy and rainy. Not less than 75,000 troops were massed about the remnants of the Communal defence whose troops now numbered but a few thousands. On three sides the Communists were menaced by their adversaries and on the fourth, outside the walls, was the German force which captured and hurried fugitives to the Versaillese headquarters. Numberless barricades faced the Assembly's troops and as fast as they were taken, others sprang up to oppose the advance.

Paving stones, sacks of earth, household furniture—all furnished materials for the barricades. Youths of tender years proved adepts at overturning carts as a nucleus for the street defences, and men, women and children assisted in every manner in the construction and maintenance of the street positions. The belligerents forced all pedestrians to assist in the work of building barri-

cares; messengers, on the most important errands, were sometimes compelled to work for a half hour or an hour. Carriers of military orders were not excluded from these forced labors. In this way, the disadvantages of the Federates were increased by the uncertainty of communication between commanders and the consequent failure in the distribution of supplies.

The transfer of ammunition was interrupted and at many of the barricades the Federates fought until their last shot was fired.* Refusing to surrender, they were overcome in the hand-to-hand struggle by the force of numbers, and cut to pieces by the bayonets and sabres of the Versaillese.

Wroblewski and Ranvier were foremost in the direction of defensive operations through this week of blood and fire.

Ferré wished to take more prisoners and hostages from La Grande Roquette, but by connivance with the keepers, the prisoners barricaded themselves in their cells, which were locked and the keys hid by the prison attendants. Francois, the Governor of the prison, was ordered by Ferré to get the prisoners ready for transfer; this was now unsuccessfully attempted. Poiret, a warden of the prison, advised the prisoners to resist. An imprisoned National Guard said "They want to kill the priests; let us not risk our lives for theirs." Nearly all those confined at length joined in the resistance. The prisoners, taken in battle, (1400 in number) were removed by Ferré's order from Petite Roquette to the Church of St. Jean Baptiste, with the intention, through them, of making more favorable terms with the Versaillese. This church was soon after taken by the Assembly's

* "Nothing could exceed the courage and the desperation of the insurgents who fought until the last pound of ammunition was exhausted."—*Washburne.*

troops. When Ferré returned to La Grand Roquette he also unsuccessfully attempted to dislodge the entrenched prisoners. Threats, promises, smoke—all were of no avail, and, while this was going on, the alarm of the approach of the Versaillese caused the scattering of those who were endeavoring to remove the prisoners. Four of those in confinement—a government official and three priests, one of whom was Mgr. Serat—concluded to seek liberty. These were met by a party of Federates, who, on ascertaining who the four were, marched them to the wall of the Petite Roquette, where they were shot.

The character of the engagements of Saturday was even fiercer, more murderous and brutal in detail than those of the previous days. The guns at Montmartre were turned on the artillery position at the Buttes Chaumont; and other artillery, from a nearly opposite position, raked the Buttes and assisted the Versaillese in subduing these works and in the general engagement.

A charge was made late in the evening upon the barricades, and the Buttes, with a large number of prisoners were taken, after severe losses on both sides. Huge amounts of ammunition and provisions fell into the hands of the Versaillese.

At the close of the day, a mile in diameter was the extent of the Communist possessions, with the exception of the Fauburg du Temple, whose defenders had shown such a resistance as to hold the Versaillese at bay though the odds in numbers were immensely against them.

During these last days, a body known as the Versaillese Court Martial sat at the Chatelet Theatre. It left no record of its proceedings, if it ever kept any and was rather a court of sentence than one of trial. The prisoners who were brought

before this fearful tribunal, with scarcely a single exception, found there way to the abattoir at the Lobau barracks. It is evident that this Court Martial was established for the sole purpose of giving a semblance of legality to slaughter of the Communards. The Versaillese would have exhibited as much regard for justice and humanity had they slain the prisoners as fast as captured as by subjecting them to this murderous farce of a military trial.

Lissagaray says the questions occupied about a quarter of a minute. "Were you taken with arms? Have you served the Commune? Show your hands," were the inquiries.

The Court continued to sit until June 3d, when the decomposing bodies of thousands of the dead threatened a pestilence. Only then did it desist from its labor of assassination. Little attempt was made to dispose of the corpses which lay festering in the sun and clouds of flesh-flies and flocks of crows filled in this horrid scene of wholesale human butchery which is without a parallel in modern times. The wholesale executions were now not limited to the work of musketry fire. The mitrailleuses were turned upon the crowds of prisoners, and the dead and dying, broken and mangled victims were piled up in heaps or left as they fell. Through the night of Friday-Saturday, and for days and nights following, groans and cries, from heaps of bodies, were of common occurrence. Such scenes, it may with safety be asserted, were never spread on civilized soil. St. Bertholomew's day called for its victims, but they were not penned up and mowed down with mitrailleuses. It was left for the incarnation of capitalism, the National Assembly, to use the machine-gun for satiating its blood lust against

workers of Paris.* "To compare these murderers with any members of the animal kingdom, let alone with savages, would be more than unjust to the brute or the savage."†

"Outside the Madeleine Church, on one of the days of street fighting, a horrible scene occurred. A strong man, apparently in liquor, refused to continue his route. He was seized by four troopers, and dragged along the ground, amid the hoots and yells of the crowd, until an officer shot him through the head, just as the people were coming out of the Madeleine, with their missals in their hands. The crowd shrieked "Hurrah, hurrah!" with the exception of one man, who gave vent to an exclamation of horror, and was immediately seized by the soldiers, and dragged away. Among the prisoners were several children, not more than 12 years of age, and they appear to have been treated much as their elders were. The prisoners captured at barricades were generally shot off-hand, and even those who were reserved for trial stood a very good chance of being slaughtered meanwhile on the slightest provocation."

As the contest closed in on them the Communards sought every means of escape. Many thought they could retreat by the Prussian lines; but all passage was refused them and they were left no resource but absolute surrender.

*You shall perish, whatever you do! If you are taken with arms in your hands—death! If you use them—death! If you beg for mercy—death! Whichever way you turn, right, left, back, forward, up, down—death! You are not merely outside the law, you are outside humanity. Neither age nor sex shall save you and yours. You shall die, but first you shall taste the agony of your wife, your sister, your mother, your sons and daughters, even those in the cradle! Before your eyes the wounded man shall be taken out of the ambulance and hacked with bayonets or knocked down with the butt-end of a rifle. He shall be dragged living by his broken leg or bleeding arm and flung like a suffering, groaning, bundle of refuse into the gutter. Death! Death! Death!"—*Historie Populaire et Parlementaire de la Commune de Paris*, par Arthur Arnould.

†Bax.

The Last Days of May—

SUNDAY, MAY 28—The war is over. The bloodiest week of the struggle is past. A contingent of caged and enraged insurrectionists are at the mercy of a huge army. The Commune's support is at its last gasp. No hope for relief, no possibility for a renewal of the combat bringing else than death and disaster. At 5 a. m. the Versaillese took the prison La Roquette. Varig was promptly shot and the hostages were released. The headquarters on Rue Haxo were soon taken from the Communists, with 2,000 prisoners.

Tony Moillin was captured Saturday night and shot at 5 o'clock Sunday morning, the shooting being delayed that he might marry a woman with whom he lived, and who was *enciente*. The ceremony took place at 2 o'clock, being performed by Mayor Herisson, whom Moillin had, after two unsuccessful attempts, displaced from the Mairie of the 6th arrondissement on March 22d.

When Grand Roquette prison was captured, the 140 Federates confined there were taken to Pere Lachaise cemetery by the Versaillese and shot in groups of ten. From Petite Roquette, 127 were also taken out and shot in groups—all this being done without the slightest formality of charge or trial, or even of sentence, by other than the lower officers of the Versaillese. Augustine Ranvier, Governor of St. Pelagie Prison, was found hung, having committed suicide. He was a brother of Gabriel Ranvier. The last places taken were Fanburg du Temple and the Rue de la Fontaine au Roi, where a few dozen Federates, under Piat, had made a particularly gallant stand but finally surrendered.

The heights of Belleville was the place of the

closing struggle. The Federates held out until their ammunition was exhausted and until every form of fortified defence was destroyed. Late in the afternoon a few hundred surrendered, marching to the Versailles line with arms reversed, a silent and sorrowful procession. They laid down their arms and were surrounded and hurried away.

The last red flag that floated for the Commune was at a barricade at the Rue Fontaine au Roi, where, after a feeble defence it was surrendered at 11 a. m.

The last entrenchment was taken at about noon on the Rue de Paris. This barricade was held by a single man for a quarter of an hour after his companions had fallen, and wonderful to relate, this last combatant escaped with his life.*

Gambon, Geresme, T. Ferré, Lacord and several members of the Commune, on Sunday morning, accompanied by a guard of 40 Federates and 15 boys from the foundling asylum in the Rue d'Enfer, withdrew to the Mairie of the 20th arrondissement. This was the last body which marched with the red flag in the Commune. Early in the afternoon this body surrendered, Gambon first making a speech from a barricade.†

The aspect of Sunday was even more dismal and oppressive than that of Saturday. The trees of the Tuileries Gardens, where the concert had been announced for the afternoon, were broken, singed and blackened. Foul odors from decomposing corpses filled the air which a week before

* Bax

† "I have passed thirty years of my life in sacrificing myself for the Republic and Liberty. I have given everything to the people, and to-day the people abandon me. I have made the sacrifice of my life for the cowards who flee from danger when it meets them face to face. I swear that if I escape I will never again give an instant of my life or one of my thoughts to these men. Citizens, the great cause is again lost; the Commune is killed by those who had sworn to make it triumph or to die, and who have not even defended it."

was fragrant with the smell of verdure, and the sounds of music were supplanted by the rattle of guns, and the groans of the wounded and dying. Great numbers of those who had participated in the festivities of a week before were making an attempt to escape, were languishing in prison or had been killed and added to the heaps of corpses. The streets which had a week before been filled with the happy faces of the pleasure-loving populace, now echoed the monotonous tramp of the prisoner, whose begrimed and dejected countenance told of battles fought and hopes deceived.

Varlin, overcome with grave and melancholy reflections, every hope of his manly life overthrown, every intention of his public acts defeated, wandering, heart-sick and weary, sat down at midday on the curbstone in the midst of Versaillese patrols at the Square Montholon. A priest called the attention of the patrol and Varlin was arrested, his hands tied behind him, and he was marched for trial to Montmartre. On the way he was insulted by the fickle populace; his death was demanded; and the guard could scarcely get him to the Military Court. The Court sat in a house on the Rue de Rosiers—the house where Lecomte and Clement Thomas had been killed on March 18th. On the way Varlin was frightfully maltreated and disfigured—one eye being torn from its socket and his head was a mass of blood—he had to be carried at last. He was, after a slight interrogation, sentenced to death. This news, on being made known to the populace, was greeted with joyful shouts. They demanded that he be paraded around the Butte. His brains were finally dashed out with the butt-ends of the muskets of the soldiers. Thus perished one of

the most intelligent, honest and zealous of the Communal leaders.

In 1862, by French governmental desire, a delegation of workingmen was sent to London to visit the great exhibition and to study products and industries. Varlin, afterward so prominent in the Commune, was one of the delegates, and later, resulting from consultation in London, one of the founders of the International in France. His absolute honesty is conceded, even by those who hated and killed him. He was a bookbinder and worked for his uncle, and Varlin disdained the proposition to marry a relative, though by this he would have inherited the business of his uncle. Varlin asserted in declining that he would be ashamed to live from the product of the labor of others.

Cluseret and Varlin became acquainted in 1868 while imprisoned in Paris for political offenses. Cluseret was in New York and in correspondence with Varlin in 1870. (See p. 83).

Among men who are acquainted with the lives and characters of those foremost in the Communal uprising, there is an opinion generally entertained, that Varlin was, in all those essentials which mark the truly great man, the most distinguished. Though of very ordinary educational attainments, such as usually fall to the workingman of natural instincts of study, he had not accumulated habits of dissipation and the thoughtless use of leisure time, those habits which, unfortunately, are almost inseparable companions in the unambitious life of the average worker. From Varlin's early youth he was interested in the welfare of his fellow toilers, and his studious mind found most interest in the theories which purported to need but an opportunity to emancipate the objects of his solicitude. The natural associates of the intelligent young worker were those in his walks of life and those of similar tendencies toward the society in which he lived. He was honest, he was capable, and, in the labor organizations rose high in the approbation of his fellows. The International Workingmen's Association opened to him a field for broader work and perhaps for the fulfilment of his wishes. As a representative in Central, National and International Congresses of his fellow-workers, he was often in conflict with those of less earnestness, he was at all times respected by opponents as well as supporters.

On Sunday morning the government at Versailles declared "the expiations do not console us."

J. Miot was shot at La Muette. Dufil, who, it is said ordered the shooting of Lecomte and Clement-Thomas, was shot to death with a pistol by the officer who captured him.

The rattle of shots is heard occasionally in the abattoir of the Lobou barracks, which indicates the shooting of parties of prisoners.* A stray shot indicates a Federate in hiding brought to bay, making a last effort to oppose capture, or a shot sent after a fugitive seeking safety in flight.

The Commune is dead.

MONDAY, MAY 29—The only remaining Communist position—Fort Vincennes, outside the walls on the East, was taken by the Versailles. Commander Eudes desired to surrender to the Germans, thinking to get passports out of the country. Vincennes surrendered with a large number of prisoners on Monday morning.

*The military commanders of the four districts into which Paris had been divided—Generals Ladmirault, Cissey, Douai and Vinoy—each held continuous Court Martials and the prisoners were now, by their decree, mown down in rows by mitrailleuses.

Marshal McMahon issued the following proclamation on Sunday :

Inhabitants of Paris:

REPUBLIQUE FRANCAISE.

“The Army of France is come to save you. Paris is freed. At 4 o'clock our soldiers carried the last positions occupied by the insurgents.

To-day the struggle ended; order, labor and security begin anew.

The Marshal of France

Commander-in-Chief

McMAHON,

Duke of Magenta.

Hdqtrs., 28 May, 1871.

TUESDAY-WEDNESDAY, MAY 30-31—"Order reigned in Paris. Smoking ruins, corpses, and desolation were all that met the eye. One side of the Seine ran red with blood. The gutters ran blood. The roads were red with blood, as though the soil had been London clay. Clouds of flesh-flies rose from the neaps of corpses; flocks of crows hovered over the charnel house. Paris now subjugated, the assassins could organize the slaughter at their leisure. It has been proved that these massacres were arranged at Versailles before the entry of the troops, and indeed, the utterances of Thiers were of themselves quite sufficient to show this."*

"The number of dead bodies created a horribly foul atmosphere, from which the worst results in the way of epidemic diseases were feared. The gutters ran blood; blood flowed in a separate stream along the waters of the Seine; blood was thick upon the pavements and the roadways; and the walls of houses were smeared with the same awful witness. This alone caused a dreadful corruption of the air; and the clouds of smoke overhanging the dolorous city prevented the still more offensive odor below from passing away. Many of the slaughtered insurgents were at once thrown into deep graves; but others lay about for a considerable time, and the general neglect of sanitary precautions threatened the most serious consequences. Moreover, the burial of persons who had died natural deaths was prevented for several days, owing to the state of the town; and at length the dead bodies were collected in carts, as in seasons of plague, and hastily interred."†

Dozens beaten to death in the streets, thousands killed in battle, thousands shot in lines

*Bax.

†Cassell.

against the walls, thousands slaughtered in droves by machine-guns, scores buried alive*—the living and the dead, the innocent and the guilty, the aged and the youthful—men, women, children—all mingled to fill the measure of revenge against the spirit of the social war.” †

Fugitives from their conquerors, fugitives from law, fugitives from society, the scattered survivors of this week of bloody revolt lay hidden in city or country, or furtive and sleepless, strove to reach the borders of some less hostile country than their own. No disguise was too absurd to serve their purpose. ‡ The homes of the dead beneath the city were the dwelling places of many, and the hunt for victims was systematic, energetic and pitiless. Parties of infantry traversed the alleys and explored the cellars in the city, cavalry patrolled the environs, and agents of the Assembly, stationed in the departments of the nation, were vigorous, when opportunity offered, in capturing and forwarding fugitives to Versailles. All who had fought for, all who had assisted, all who had sympathized with the Commune were brought to gaol by the drag-net searches of the Versaillese. Nor were even these indications of ‘crime’ nec-

* The horrible charge of burying the wounded alive, together with the dead, is supported by a relation to the same effect made in the *Independence Belge*, a paper strongly opposed to the Commune.

† “To find a parallel for the conduct of Thiers and his bloodhounds, we must go back to the times of Sulla and the two Triumvirates of Rome. The same wholesale slaughter in cold blood; the same disregard, in massacre, of age and sex; the same system of torturing prisoners; the same proscriptions, but this time of a whole class; the same savage hunt after concealed leaders, lest one might escape; the same denunciations of political and private enemies; the same indifference for the butchery of entire strangers to the feud. There is but this difference, that the Romans had no mitrailleuses for the despatch, in the lump, of the proscribed, and that they had not “the law in their hands,” nor on their lips the cry of civilization.”—*Address Int. W. A.*

‡ Reports had been circulated of Grousset’s being seen in Belgium and of his arrival in London, these being intended to mislead the Versaillese. On June 3d he was apprehended, dressed as a woman, in apartments where he had gone under the name of Miss Hacard.

essary to insure seizure. The unmistakable marks which labor puts upon the laborer—the garb, the stoop, the expression—these were offenses not overlooked. To reside in the workingmen's quarter of the city, an exclamation of horror at the sight of murder—these were sufficiently flagitious to bring deportation or death.

The press of Paris was, in almost every instance, in full sympathy with the massacres of prisoners and the general proceedings of the Assembly. The *Independance Francaise* wrote: "At last Paris is freed from this gang of bandits, assassins, thieves and incendiaries. Our invincible and unvanquished soldiers have returned, bringing with them order and security in the folds of the glorious tri-color. Only one cry can proceed from our lips and that cry will be uttered by all Frenchmen. 'No pity for these wretches. One punishment alone can expiate their crime—Death.'" The *Paris Journal* said: "If the Commune was without right, we shall be without pity."

"The effluvium at La Roquette was terrific; and, to prevent infection, numerous bodies were partially burned with petroleum, and buried in the Champ de Mars, under the pavements of the streets and in the public gardens. At Belleville, a *cafe chantant* had been turned into an ambulance, and dead bodies lay about on the tawdrily-bedizened stage, and in the little drinking arbors in front. The condition of the Pere-Lachaise was particularly horrible. As late as the 31st of May, the dead lay about on the grass in a double tier, powdered over with a coating of chloride of lime; and, as many of the tombstones and graves had been broken and torn up in the fighting, the decomposing remains of bodies that had long been buried were exposed to view, and added to the

frightful condition of the air. Smoke yet arose in heavy volumes from the chief centers of conflagration."*

"The prisoners at Satory were evidently much depressed in spirit. They would hardly answer any questions put to them, and many lay wearily on their fetid straw, or on the damp, filthy earth, heeding no one, and indifferent to all things. Holes were made in the walls of the enclosure, and cannon, loaded with grape and canister, were stationed at the apertures. One night, a prisoner persisted in looking through an embrasure thus guarded. The sentry three times warned him to withdraw, and then blew his brains out. The slightest sign of insubordination was at once punished with death; and this rigor was doubtless unavoidable. On the 24th of May, about a thousand of the captured insurgents revolted, got rid of their handcuffs, and attempted to set fire to the arsenal. In the confusion, fifty-seven escaped. Extra troops, however, were summoned from Versailles; the soldiers fired into the crowd, and three hundred of the rebels were shot."

Arrests were made of the people *en masse* in the workingmens' districts where the last stands were made. Apprehension of Federates, domiciliary searches and other lawful proceedings were now in order, nor did they cease for nearly a year after the Commune's fall. The streets presented a fearful and revolting sight. Dead bodies of Communists, stagnant pools of human blood and the debris of the fires covered the principal thoroughfares. The Federates' dead were, after a delay which made the air reek with unhealthy odors, dumped,

* Fire engines and apparatus were forwarded from Brussels and other cities, and a tender of assistance was sent from London.

by wagon loads, into any vacant place capable of holding them and usually covered but slightly with earth. The street pavements had been torn up to build barricades, many of which still remained. The houses were discolored by smoke and disfigured by fire and the bombardment during the hostilities.

In the open country the evil effects of war are less felt by the individual than in the circumscribed limits of a great city, where every person is at least a spectator of the arena of destruction and murder.

It was a mournful but instructive spectacle, the Paris of the last days of May. There was not an evidence of destruction but carried its lesson to the military commander, a meaning to the philosopher and a warning to the lover of justice and of peace. No modern stoic could gaze unmoved upon the commingled corpses of the old, the young, the warlike and the peaceful; no one whose mind was pleased with a consideration of the grand and beautiful, could contemplate, without mental anguish, the ruthless ruin of those noble and historic buildings; no person, unless imbued with more than savage instincts, could look upon the destruction of man and his works except in sorrow and regret.

VII.

The Peace of June.

“The peace that passeth all understanding.”—*Holy Writ.*

After the peace treaty (during the negotiation of which Bismarck strongly advised the disarming of the National Guard) had been signed, the uprising of the Parisians put a new phase on the position of the Germans encamped about Paris.

The idea of a people's government was as obnoxious to Bismarck as it was to Thiers. A natural agreement was therefore consummated between the Prussian conquerors and the Versaillese in regard to the Commune. This engagement was the firm foundation on which waited the Assembly's careful preparation for the siege.

Von Moltke says the German army was ready at any time to crush the insurrection, but Thiers feared the desertion of troops if the Germans invaded Paris. Faced by the fighting force of 150,000 Versaillese, and with 80,000 Germans under agreement to turn back all fugitives, the desperate position of the Federates in the last days may be clearly seen.

Notwithstanding the excellent discipline of the German army, the Saxon army corps is said to have acted indulgently toward fugitives. That some got through the German line there is ample proof.

The Northern and Eastern forts were occupied by the Germans, but they yielded at all times to the

Versaillese such territory as the latter desired to carry out their plans. This action on the part of the Germans was of a very great advantage, especially in the last days as it gave the Assembly's troops access to the city's gates on the North. It has been said that Prince Bismarck, actuated by his usual sentiments expressed a grim satisfaction at the temporary success of the Commune, because it would attract all the professed revolutionists of Europe to Paris, where they would be caught in a trap and exterminated.*

Authorities seem to agree that the losses of the Versaillese troops in recapturing Paris amounted to 83 officers killed and 430 wounded; less than 1,000 private soldiers killed, but over 6,000 wounded. The number of missing was insignificant, being less than 200. These figures seem astonishingly small considering the huge number in the aggregate killed on the side of the Federates, who fought, for the most part, protected behind fortifications.

If there ever was any record of the number of prisoners taken, such record was destroyed by the Assembly's agents. The number is variously estimated at from 30,000 to 60,000, and as the records of sentences and acquittals show but a small part of those captured, the abattoirs at Satory and Lobau, together with heaps of corpses which lined the walls inside the city, tell the tale of tens of thousands who were murdered—helpless, untried and unrecorded.

A correspondent of the *London Times* reported the number of "Parisians killed in battle in the city at 6,000; the Versaillese shot 8,000

*"No mediation is possible in the struggle that has shaken Europe to its foundations. The principles involved rest on foundations which are utterly opposed to each other, and which exclude one another from the beginning."
—*Prince Bismarck.*

prisoners in cold blood; 80 were shot in one row at Pere-Lachaise," An *Advertiser* correspondent reported that he saw "400 or 500 shot one morning. A batch of prisoners was brought up while I was speaking to the officer in charge. He quietly looked them over and ordered them shot. No accusation, no trial, simply cold-blooded murder."

"At Versailles they were shut up in the wine cellars of the Palace, 45 feet underground.

* * The prisoners had only some old straw on the floors. In this place, 600 men were confined, and the torture they endured from the close air, the filth and the impossibility of lying down at night was terrible. Those condemned to death were shot at the Buttes Satory—an immense amphitheatre holding 20,000 people."

An Englishman—who was pressed into the service of the Commune as carrier of messages on horseback—writing for *McMillan's Magazine* of September and October, 1871, said he "saw no petroleuses * * nor did he believe in their existence." * * Those who remained at the barricades to the last, and were the most obstinate in their defence were the boys of Paris * * from 12 to 16 years old. I was fortunately captured without arms. * Those put to death were mostly officers of the National Guard * * * They all, without exception, met their death bravely and like men. There was no shrinking from death or entreaties to be spared, by those I saw killed. The Marquis de Gallifet (he who had served the Emperor in Mexico) passed slowly down the line. He stopped here and there selecting several of our number, chiefly the aged and wounded, and ordered them to step out from the ranks. His commands were usually couched in

abusive language. A young man near me said "I am an American. Here is my passport. I am innocent." "Silence! We have got foreigners and riff-raff more than enough. We got to get rid of them," was the general's reply. We thought the aged and wounded were to be spared and we expected to be shot at once. * * Those picked out of our ranks by General de Gallifet—over 80 in number—were shot before our eyes.† We * proceeded * toward Versailles. There was no water. Some, utterly worn out, would drop by the wayside. Our guard * * by kicks and blows * * would try to make him resume his place in the line. When these measures proved unavailing, a shot in the rear would tell us one of our number had ceased to exist. The guard would fall into his place, laughing and chatting gayly with his comrades. Arrived at Satory, we fell on our faces in the mud and lapped the water from the pools. It was useless to attempt to find a place to sleep. I counted that night 44 men bereft of reason."

The Versailles Assembly celebrated with "Thanksgiving" services, the restoration of "order."

† A writer in the *Times*, describing the events of the 25th, spoke of the horrible effect produced by the angry ring of the volleys of execution, the strings of men and women hurried off to their doom, the curses of the populace, and the brutal violence of the soldiery. The civilians were fully as savage as the troops. Those, who but a few days before cowered beneath the dictation of Pyat, Delescluze and their associates, and did not dare to lift a hand or utter a word in their own defence, now vied with each other in pointing out concealed Communists, and shouting for their immediate death. When files of prisoners were led through the streets, the crowd would frequently exclaim, "Shoot the wretches! Show them no mercy!" They struck them with canes, yelled at them, or laughed and made hideous jokes when one was shot down in cold blood. The soldiers and the people sometimes coalesce, and literally beat the miserable wretches to death with sticks and the butt-ends of muskets—"beat them to death," as an observer related, "after the style in which cruel boys smash frogs and toads." An eminent advocate was shocked to see an officer draw his sword upon a woman who tried to leave a line of prisoners, slash her across the face, and hack off part of her shoulder. Another officer, of more humane disposition, was arrested for speaking against similar barbarity.

Rossel was arrested on June 7th. "He denied that he was Rossel; was confused, broken-down and bewildered," says McMahon in his official report. The posthumous papers left by Rossel were written while he was hidden in the city, subsequent to his disappearance with Gerardin.

The obsequies of the Archbishop and other ecclesiastics killed in Paris by the Communal leaders, was held on June 7th. The aspect of the people on the streets did not show a very deep emotion. A solemn silence on the part of those who assisted in the ceremony, and an apathetic indifference in those who witnessed it were the characteristics of the occasion. The columns in the Cathedral of Notre Dame were draped in black and silver, and each column bore an embroidered escutcheon which contained the name of one of the deceased clerical hostages.†

On the 29th of June, Thiers and McMahon reviewed 80,000 French troops at Longchamps, where four months before the victorious army of the Germans had been manœuvred. McMahon was received with shouts of acclamation; the

*The Assembly set aside 6,000 francs for the funeral of the Archbishop and those shot with him. Above the central door of the Cathedral of Paris a shield was placed bearing the "arms" of the Archbishop with the motto "Labore fideque."

†"The Rev. F. Perraud, a priest of the Oratory discoursed on this subject in a funeral sermon on Monseigneur Darboy, preached at Notre Dame on the 18th of July, before the Papal Nuncio and several French Bishops. 'We must take up our decision,' he remarked, 'between Jesus Christ and the Revolution; between the Gospel, that sole foundation of social justice, and the lying systems which bring forth nothing but ruin and desolation. It is time for us to make our choice between those who die and those who kill; between those who kill in the name of liberty, of universal fraternity, of civilization, of progress, and those who die as victims, like Christ, and, like unto Christ, die loving, blessing, forgiving, unto their last gasp. Those scenes, so justly called 'an awful mystery of iniquity,' are simply the logic of evil pushed to its extreme consequences. Here we have them before us in their horrid nakedness, those perverse doctrines which we did not fear as long as they were shrouded in a sober guise, as long as they were a measured and polite attack against God, against his Christ, against the Church, against the fundamental principles of morals and duty. This evil spirit hath shown himself in his whole hideous ugliness. God grant it may be for his eternal shame and his last condemnation."

soldiers were sullen and disgusted-looking as they filed by; Thiers gave way to copious tears when the people cheered him.

The Peace of June :

“The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Uhrich, and was drawn up, four or five deep, on the footway facing to the road. General Marquis de Gallifet and his staff dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking down slowly and eyeing the ranks, the General stopped here and there tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the rear ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual thus selected was marched out into the centre of the road, where a small supplementary column was thus soon formed. . . . It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Gallifet a man and woman for some particular offence. The woman, rushing out of the ranks, threw herself on her knees and, with outstretched arms, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The general waited for a pause, and then with most impassable face and unmoved demeanor, said, ‘Madame, I have visited every theatre in Paris, your acting will have no effect on me’ (ce n’est pas la peine de jouer la comedie). . . . It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, dirtier, cleaner, older, or uglier than one’s neighbors. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to his having a broken nose, . . . Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party told off, and the column resumed its march, leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of these summarily-convicted wretches.”—*Paris Correspondent* “*Daily News*,” June 8th.

“The *Temps*, which is a careful journal, and not given to sensation, tells a dreadful story of people imperfectly shot and buried before life was extinct. A great number were buried in the Square round St. Jacques-la-Bouchiere; some of them very superficially. In the daytime the roar of the busy streets prevented any notice being taken; but in the stillness of the night the inhabitants of the houses in the neighborhood were roused by distant moans, and in the morning a clenched hand was seen protruding through the soil. In consequence of this, exhumations were ordered to take place. . . . That many wounded have been buried alive I have not the slightest doubt. One case I can vouch for. When Brunel was shot with his mistress on the 24th ult. in the courtyard of a house in the Place Vendome: the bodies lay there until the afternoon of the 27th. When the burial party came to remove the corpses, they found the woman living still, and took her to an ambulance. Though she had received four bullets she is now out of danger.”—*Paris Correspondent* “*Evening Standard*.” June 8th.

VIII.

The Commune's Administration.

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- “ The Commune is the foundation of all political states, as the family is the embryo of human society.
 - “ It implies, as a political form, the republic, which is alone compatible with liberty and popular sovereignty.
 - “ The most complete liberty to speak, to write, to meet, and to associate.
 - “ Respect for the individual, and the inviolability of opinion.
 - “ The sovereignty of universal suffrage—being for ever its own master, and constantly able to convoke and to manifest itself.
 - “ The electoral principle for every functionary and magistrate.
 - “ The responsibility of mandatories, and consequently their permanent revocability.
 - “ The suppression of the standing army, so dangerous to liberty, and so burdensome to social economy.
 - “ Suppression of subsidies to creeds, theatres and the press.
 - “ Organization of a Communal assurance system, against all social risks crises, and failures.—*Epitome of the Declaration of Principles.*

If we consider the issues involved, the forces at work and the circumstances surrounding the uprising of 1871, it becomes evident that the triumph of the revolution was an impossibility. A disastrous outcome was inevitable.

The first sessions of the Commune were amicable and intelligent. But as soon as the discussion of war measures came on, the body was no longer the homogeneous representation of a united people, but became a discordant and factious assembly, vainly attempting to represent a brave but discontented and suspicious constituency. From that time acrimony and personality pervaded its deliberations.

There was a tone of moderation, of conciliation toward their opponents, seemingly quite out of place in a body of men who, in reality, represented

a spirit of social revolution. It is evident that they did not to comprehend the necessities of the situation. The wisdom of experience should have told them that success was only possible by the victories of war. They forgot that "war legislates."* They seemed to eschew the lessons spread on the pages of history, all of which teach that to retain power it must be used. Engaged in a war with a rich, unscrupulous and implacable foe, they shifted about seeking for compromise in a struggle "where no mediation was possible," and neglected to grasp and use the mine of wealth in the vaults of the Bank of France. So perverse and puerile was their conception of war, that while the enemy was murdering their soldiers when made prisoners, the Commune found no more important work than turbulent bickering regarding the form which the executive power should take.

The internal dissensions and the nature of the discussions showed the Commune to be composed of men "imbued with the love of freedom but not possessed of the spirit of union;" agreed as to the end, but jealously disagreeing as to the means to be used. Unfortunately for the record of their wisdom, they vainly attempted to legislate much for the benefit of the city's inhabitants before they gained, by the success of arms, the powers of government. "Indeed one of the common and distinctive features of the Paris Commune was this, that each of its members was severally accessible to political conceptions and ideas of organization; but as a body it remained deaf to such ideas—a moon-struck assemblage of men individually sane."† The exigencies of immediate decision and action magnified, in those independent and polemical minds, the differences in opinion.

* William Groesbeck.

† J. Andrieu.

As orators they were superb; as writers, excellent; as legislators, honorable; in the conduct of war, the most fatuous body the world has ever seen. The courageous defenders of the fortifications were supplied without judgment, munitioned by chance and officered by gold lace and cries of "Vive la Republique," "Vive la Commune." "Delegates, Commanders of Legions and Battalions, the most betasselled and bestriped staff ever seen."

The Commune was obliged to adopt the form of government and procedure adapted only to a social order organized under the beliefs diametrically opposed to the principles and policy by which it was necessary to put in action the Commune's intentions. This adoption was the result of fear of the social sentiment of the civilization of the day and the dread of the army of the victorious Germans outside the city's walls, which stood ready to pounce upon and destroy them should they be successful in putting in operation even the slight infringements upon the property arrangements which they had thus been constrained to sanction.

The uniformly hostile position of the Commune toward the clergy has made the former the target for much invective. The Commune of Paris simply found the ecclesiastics their enemies and treated them as such. The clergy made it known at all times by act and word that they were foes of the Commune and of the Communal doctrines. Guizot declares that "when any step was taken to establish permanent institutions which might effectually protect liberty from the invasions of power in general; the church has always ranged herself on the side of despotism." Whether this be true or

not, the priesthood had, to some extent, restrained the excesses of a barbarous age and protected the weak in society. But, as the French people advanced in civilization, the ecclesiastics acted not as mediators between classes, but as a repressive factor on the intellectual and social progress of the people. The Communal authorities were keen in their appreciation of the inconsistent position of the clergy, who, while teaching abhorrence of pride and the hatred of riches, expected the utmost subservency from others, the surrender of wealth to the churches and the use of luxuries to themselves.*

It is not sufficient to deduce this hatred for the priests and established religion from the mere dislike for religion per se. The actions of the leaders and supporters of the Commune indicate not only a denial of the very elements of belief, but show their absolute conviction that the church was intimately bound up in the system they desired to destroy, and could not be made to coalesce in the new order they desired to establish.†

What was the condition of Paris under the Commune? Even in those portions of Paris where crime is common, where virtue is the rare exception, where infancy is that knows no inno-

* M. Regnard, a man of ability and discretion, while secretary to M. Courmet, in an interview, mentioned the fact that "the ecclesiastics were in constant communication with the Assembly's agents; the priests had secreted in the churches many arms which had fallen into their hands during the Franco-German War." The discovery of these arms in several religious institutions, was sufficient reason for searches of all church property, and the necessity of apprehending all known to be actively assisting the Assembly made imperative the arrest of priests.

† "It is urged further that Communism and Socialism would destroy religion and the family institution. The reason of this complaint is evident enough. A number of social reformers have been at the same time atheists and advocates of free love. The questions of atheism and free love are, however, totally different from that of even Communism, the most radical of all the reforms proposed. There is no necessary connection whatever between them. If it could once be shown that Communism were practicable, it would be easy to give many reasons for supposing that in such a society the love between man and wife and parents and children would be freer from selfish and sordid motives than at present.—Richard T. Ely.

cence, youth without shame, maturity that is mature in nothing but suffering and guilt, blasted old age that is a scandal to the name we bear"—even these pestilential centers of iniquity failed to return their record of assaults, robberies, burglaries, suicides and murders. It is conceded by all writers that while under the rule of the Commune, there was not a section of the city but that could be traversed with safety at any hour of the day or night. Has there been such a condition of affairs in Paris under royalty, under Empire or under the rule for profit by the bourgeoisie?

Dr. Bridges, writing to the *Bee Hive*, July 8th, 1871, said:—"I deliberately say that the records of history may be searched in vain to find a revolutionary movement, the leaders of which stand out in history more pure from crime than the leaders of the Commune."

An English lady, who left Paris on the advent of the Commune, returned after the city's subjugation by the Versaillese. She found that her apartments had been used for a military headquarters by the Federates. Of her three rooms, two were occupied by soldiery; all her furniture and belongings had been stored in the third room, and not an article was missing, pieces of jewelry which had been left on the bureau remaining as she had even left them.

Mr. Read, then in Paris, writing from La Lywood Road, Birmingham, to the *Morning News*, July 17th, proves the Commune never had the least intention of shooting the hostages. Mr. Read also proved that *the hostages were not shot till three days after the Versaillese troops were masters of Paris, and the members of the Commune killed or in flight*. That during the reign of the Commune not one person was put to death officially or otherwise, and that Mr. Malet, of the British Embassy, could prove the same. Mr. Malet also declared that during the Commune there was an almost total absence of crime.

An English clergyman, living in Paris at the time, wrote to the *Spectator*, May 20th, 1871, on the state of Paris. He said:—"As to anarchy, never was Paris so quiet and orderly; never were persons or property so safe; you may go out at any hour, in any quarter, without fear or insult; and this is more than could be said of the place, when, besides the city police and the army of spies, it had *twelve thousand* police specially for the Emperor's protection. . . . Of personal liberty you can go where you please. Of drunkenness you see none in Paris. As to debauchery, the women have joined the Commune to put down prostitution."

No more corpses at the Morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies; in fact, for the first time since the days of February, 1848, the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind. "We," said a member of the Commune, "hear no longer of assassination, theft, and personal assault; it seems, indeed, as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its Conservative friends."—*Address of Int. W. A.*

A Catholic woman, visiting Paris, met another woman returning from the flower-market carrying a bouquet. "Then no one," said the visitor, pointing to the flowers, "need be afraid in Paris." "No woman," was the answer, "except of shells; but the men are in danger."—*Latimer*.

"I was constantly about the city during the whole reign of the Commune, but I was never interfered with nor was ever an affront offered to my person. My private secretary * * * was busy everywhere * * * Going through the prisons, etc. * * he was always treated with the utmost respect."—*Washburne*.

The work of the administration in the municipality was divided into nine departments, (see p. 74) and these were, all things considered, creditably conducted, except that most important of them all, the Department of War.

The War Department has been fully reviewed in the preceding chapters. Its delegates were successively Lullier, swaggerer; Cluseret, diplomat; Rossel, insincere, and Delescluze, enthusiast.

Cluseret must be credited with much wisdom on one point. He was not in favor of the centering of internal efforts on the locking up of the priests, while the Bank of France—the hostage of hostages—was left practically in the hands of their antagonists.

Lullier contemplated leaving Paris about the middle of May, and he applied to Minister Washburne to get him a passport. He was about 33 years of age. He was a forcible and fearless speaker, and his public denunciations of the incapacity of the Commune's military leaders made him unpopular with the Commune, and with its officials. Lullier took command of the flotilla of the Seine April 12th. It is charged that late in April Lullier desired the Assembly to secretly authorize him to organize a counter-revolution in Paris in favor of the Versailles government,

"Delescluze and the majority of the Commune understood nothing, and therefore accomplished nothing."—*Cluseret*.

Beslay, Jourde and Varlin were the Committee on Finance.

A legal battalion of five hundred National Guards, who were favorable to, the Assembly, were, from the opening of the difficulty, in charge of and entrenched in the bank. It is said they had but twenty-five rounds of ammunition, but their strong position and the diplomatic stubbornness of the bank authorities, together with the ignorance of the Federates as to the lack of munitions were sufficient to deter the Communal authorities from taking over the institution. The bank officials also insisted that the moment the Commune took charge, the bank's notes would be practically valueless. The excuses, the lies, the deceptions, the bickerings which served to protect the bank and embarrass the Commune would of themselves fill a long and not uninteresting chapter.

Six hundred millions of dollars, in various forms of value, were in the bank's vaults at this time, of which there was 8,326,866 francs to the credit of the City of Paris, and 1,390,000 francs were to the credit of the International Workmen's Association. The latter fund was used by the Commune. Including this, the "total amount paid out by the Bank of France on the Commune's account was 7,200,000 francs [\$1,440,000].—*Washburne*.

Beslay was made the Commune's agent in the bank and he was installed in an office in that institution. Rouland, the governor, left on March 18th. The sub-governor, Marquis de Plœuz, was in charge during the Commune, and testified before Commissioner of Inquest that without Besley the bank "would no longer exist." The bank continually protested against issuing funds and its excuses and evasions were directed from Versailles. The funds were parceled out in amounts insufficient to make a vigorous defense, but sufficient to satisfy the committee and to keep in abeyance the desire to take over the bank. This was several times

threatened, and constantly advocated by all who had any adequate conception of the power of money in war. Besley's actions in endeavoring to lessen the demands on the bank are evidence that he deserved no punishment at the hands of the Versaillese. Thiers is said to have granted Besley a pass to Switzerland after the fall of the Commune.

Jourde presided over the Commission of Finance, and with the assistance of Varlin, attended to the collection of funds and the payment of troops, etc. There was an evident desire, on the part of the Commune, to connect authority with merit in these appointments. Jourde, who had been a clerk and accountant, was honest and methodical. This department was carried on by men drawn from among the proletarians, at ordinary wages, and strict accounting was made of every item, although huge sums were in transfer, and the opportunities for irregularities were plentiful. Jourde made frequent accountings to the Commune. In all the vast sums handled by the Commission of Finance, the disposition of every sou was shown in the records. Jourde frequently objected to what he believed to be the too-liberal use of the public moneys in some departments. These two who were chosen, Varlin and Jourde, were both distinguished for their plain and simple apparel and fare, and for their orderly and abstemious habits of life. Jourde twice resigned as head of the Finance Department owing to his dissatisfaction with some actions of the Commune; the completeness of his reports, and his unquestioned integrity, caused a unanimous demand for his continuance in office.

Jourde protested vigorously against the payments made to the National Guard in the latter part of the struggle. He had 60,000 men on his pay roll and said he did not believe more than 30,000 were performing their duties.

The red flag was never hoisted over the Bank of France.

Beslay was an engineer by profession. He had been a deputy in 1830; his father had been a deputy under the first Empire.

"Jourde, a small, pale, thin man and a consumptive, thoroughly trustworthy—nothing more. He defended the bank more than anyone—at any rate as much as Beslay."—*Cluseret*.

The Department of Subsistence was one which was easily and well managed.

"Viard was an honest, straightforward man, incapable of a base act."—*Cluseret*.

Elisee Reclus and Benoit Gastneau were placed in charge of the National Library.

Elisee Reclus was born at Sanita-Foy-la-Grande and was 41 years of age in 1871. He is a distinguished geographer and scientist and the author of many notable works on physical geography. His principle books are "La Terre" and the "Geographie Universelle." He has also written many pamphlets on Anarchism and is accounted as one of the leaders of Anarchist thought in Europe. He was tried for participation in the Commune and condemned to transportation for life, but, by the intercession of scientific men, the government was induced to commute this sentence to banishment.

The Delegate of Labor took charge of the unemployed; night work by bakers was abolished, all employers were forbidden to fine their laborers under any circumstances.

"The prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretenses—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executioner, and filches the money to boot."—*Address of Int. W. A.*

By decree all workshops not in actual operation were confiscated to the Commune to be operated co-operatively by trades-syndicates of workmen, "thus affirming the principle of the expropriation of the capitalist class by the working class."

"The farce was to be gone through of having a jury of arbitration to fix upon the amount of indemnity.—Such owners were not, of course, represented on the jury and had no voice whatever in the matter."—*Washburne*.

"The department of labor immediately set to work to systematically collect and arrange information regarding the condition of labor, and relations between employers and employed. "It was also entrusted with the revision of the customs and the transformation of the fiscal system."—*Bax*.

"Frankel, small, thin, fair; with a subtle and methodical mind * * * thoroughly acquainted with the questions relative to labor."—*Chuseret*.

Foreign Affairs, with Grousset as Delegate, were carefully attended. It was evidently the intention of the Commune to placate the Germans as Pachel Grousset on April 20th, in the *Affranché*, declared Paris was ready to pay a just share of the indemnity to the Prussians.

Department of Justice, Protot, Delegate, was creditably conducted.

The judicial functionaries were to be divested of that sham independence which had but served to mask their abject subserviency to all succeeding governments to which, in turn, they had taken, and broken, the oaths of allegiance. Like the rest of public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elective, responsible, and revocable.—*Address Int. W. A.*

Protot was 36 years of age. An enthusiast; intelligent and brave; his jaw was broken by a bullet while he was defending a barricade during the street fighting.

The Public Service was, all things considered, attended to in a remarkable efficient manner.

Thiesz, a silver chaser by trade, was selected to take charge of the postal service. This absolutely necessary public utility had been purposely demoralized by Rampon, the deserting head of this department under instruction from Thiers, but under the hand of the Commune's delegate, order was restored and the service, it has been held by all historians, would have been creditable to a city in the midst of a prosperous peace instead of one in a state of siege and disorder.

"Rampon appears to have taken advantage of the Committee's confidence, and to have sent away to Versailles all the conveyances and boxes used by the administration. The Communal Council, receiving warning too late, only issued orders * * * for the arrest of M. Rampon; but when the agents of the Commune reached the Post Office for that purpose, they found neither M. Rampon nor his clerks, neither registers nor postal cases, "not even the Post Office vans", was the report of the Commune's representatives."

The wages of the employes in the post office were raised, the hours shortened and all arrangements showed marked diligence and great ability.

Camelinet, a bronze worker, was given charge of the mint and in spite of the singular difficulties which surrounded its operation, the conduct of this department was of such a character as to call for high praise.

Treilhard, an old revolutionist, was put in charge of hospitals, and did systematic work for the attendance of the sick and wounded.

Gustave Courbet, the painter, and a committee of artists superintended the museums and picture galleries.

"Gustave Courbet, artist, was born in 1819 in the province of Franche-Comte, which lies on the eastern limits of France. His father was a well-to-do farmer, who had a cousin in Paris who was a lawyer. At 20, young Courbet was sent to Paris to study law with this relative. He abandoned himself to art. He painted his own portrait and for several succeeding years sent it to the Salon

and each time it was sent it was refused. In two of his pictures "The Lovers in the Country" and "The Man with the Leather Girdle" his portrait is introduced. His first picture that attracted attention was in 1844. His fame began to grow. In 1850, Courbet "awoke and found himself famous." After the suppression of the Commune in Paris, Courbet was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and to pay the cost of restoring the Column Vendome. The heavy cost was paid in part and on Courbet's death his devoted sister, who had the Gallic dread of pecuniary dishonor in her family, assumed the remaining debt; that, however was cancelled by the Government."—*Titus Munson Coan*.

(Courbet's fine is generally stated to have been but 500 francs.)

The Department of Education was unable, owing to the unsettled condition of affairs to form any general system of procedure, but in the arrondissements, considerable local work was done. In one district the clothing and feeding of children was instituted. Another declared its mission as a communal institution to teach children to love their fellow creatures, to love justice and to bring home to them the duty of improving themselves, not for the sake of personal advancement, "but in the interests of all." At the same time teachers were instructed in future to exclusively employ "the experimental and scientific method, that which starts from facts, physical, moral and intellectusl."

Public Safety had as Delegates Rigault, Cournet and Ferre. The duties were in all cases diligently performed, unpleasant and arbitrary as they sometimes appeared.

Soon after his appointment as Prosecutor, Rigault issued an order that no persons, military or civil, should be imprisoned unless an official report, detailing the alleged offences and with the names and addresses of witnesses, were lodged at the clerks office by the citizens making the arrest.

Raoul Rigault said on the 17th of May, "I would sooner let the guilty escape than strike an innocent person."

Riel and Leballeur, assistants at the Prefecture, were imprisoned for being too extravagant with public moneys.

Cournet, who was editor of the *Reveil*, had been a deputy to the Assembly, but resigned to uphold the Communal cause, and was well known as a forcible writer and an unflinching advocate of the Communal tenets.

Ferre had been a clerk before the breaking out of the war, and was a well known speaker and an active revolutionary agitator. He is described as a small, brisk man, with an immense capacity for disposing of business. Of an active mind, a ready tongue and a firm will.

Ferre, when tried, refused to answer interrogations, made no defence and refused to have an advocate. He was 25 years of age.

Gaston Pierre Dacosta, a journalist, was assistant procurator under Rigault, and seems to have had a character similar to that of his chief. Dacosta was but 22 years of age, but at 18 was sentenced to 15 days' imprisonment for uttering seditious cries.

Pilotell, an artist, was one of Rigault's most vigorous lieutenants, and has been singled out much villification for carrying out the orders of the head of the department.

Abbe Lamazou speaks of Rigault and Ferre as the two most depraved and bloodthirsty members of the Commune.

The following are among the more important decrees of the Commune, some not before noted:

April 2, The Commune declared that sinecures and overpay had no place in a genuine Republic, and that no official of the Commune should receive over \$1200 per annum.

April 27, The Commune decreed the destruction of the Chapel Brea, erected in memory of General Brea, who was killed by a revolutionist in the uprising of 1848.

A proclamation was issued April 29, outlining their policy, and another in which they remitted three-quarters of rents, due October, 1870, January, 1871, and April, 1871, and all payments made previous to this decree were to be deducted from future payments; this applied to furnished apartments as well as houses. All leases were renewable at the option of the tenant; all notices to quit might be deferred three months at the pleasure of the tenant.

May 12, The Commune decreed a gratuitous delivery of all pledges in pawnshops, of a value less than twenty francs [84].

May 17, Decreed titles, coats of arms, liveries and aristocratic privileges abolished; all pensions, revenues and emoluments thereto are abolished and the Legion of Honor and all other Orders abolished.

May 19, Public functionaries, guilty of extortion, depredation or thefts as long as war lasts, shall be tried by Court Martial.

A decree for arresting all drunkards and prostitutes, and another punishing theft with death was promulgated by the Commune.

The widow of every National Guard was to have of 600 francs a year; the mistresses of National Guards to be placed on the same basis; each child, legitimate or illegitimate, was to have one franc per day until 18 years of age. Provisions were made for pensioning the aged and wounded defenders of the Commune.

A court was established for the trial of all military offenders in the ranks of the Federates, and was specially intended to consider the cases of those against whom charges of spying for the Versaillaise were brought.

The theatres were to be put under the administration of associations instead of individuals.

The Commune fed the families of those who fought against it and simply said "The Commune has enough bread for all." Thus putting into action what is known as Christian charity so noticeable absent from Christian warfare.

It was held by the Commune, as may be seen by their edicts, that the ecclesiastics had not only taken over to the church, and to their own use, the temporal possessions of the community, but had systematically pauperized the mentality of those who were brought under their influence.

M. Mortier, member of the Commune, expressed a desire to open the churches only for atheistic teachings and the annihilating of ancient superstitions.

"Having once got rid of the standing army and the police, the physical force elements of the old government, the Commune was anxious to break the spiritual force of repression, the "parson-power," by the disestablishment and disendowment of all churches as proprietary bodies. The priests were sent back to the recesses of private life, there to feed upon the alms of the faithful in imitation of their predecessors, the Apostles. The whole of the educational institutions were opened to the people gratuitously, and at the same time cleared of all interference of Church and State. Thus, not only was education made accessible to all, but science itself freed from the fetters which class prejudice and governmental force had imposed upon it."

Notwithstanding the military failures of the Communal government, the splendid administration of municipal affairs by workingmen, with a machinery purposely disarranged by the former officials, proves this class to possess the faculty of social initiative in a high degree and conclusively disproves the charge that this was a rebellion of

the incompetents—the socially unfit—who were bent upon escaping from needed restraints and inaugurating an orgy of pillage, lust and blood.

The workman of Paris * * had admirable qualities. * * He is active, generous, unwearied in work and in pleasure, he is ardent, courageous naturally-inclined to all that is grand and lofty, with a passion for justice, sober (in spite of all that his calumniators may have said on the progress of drunkenness, we keep this word, which is justified by the Paris workman's faculty of living on next to nothing) generally obliging, cordial and gay—and gaiety is a noble gift in a being who has every thing to suffer.”—*A. Desmoulins*.

It is a strange fact. In spite of all the tall talk and all the immense literature, for the last sixty years, about Emancipation of Labor, no sooner do the working men anywhere take the subject into their own hands with a will, than uprises at once all the apologetic phraseology of the mouthpieces of present society with its two poles of Capital and Wage-slavery (the landlord now is but the sleeping partner of the capitalist), as if capitalist society was still in its purest state of virgin innocence, with its antagonisms still undeveloped, with its delusions still unexploded, with its prostitute realities not yet laid bare. The Commune, they exclaim, intends to abolish property, the basis of all civilization! Yes, gentlemen, the Commune intended to abolish that class-property which makes the labor of the many the wealth of the few. It aimed at the expropriation of the expropriators. It wanted to make individual property a truth by transforming the means of production, land and capital, now chiefly the means of enslaving and exploiting labor, into mere instruments of free and associated labor.—*Address of Int. W. A.*

It must be remembered that the administration of Paris under the Commune was extremely economical; so much so as to cause the surprise and disgust of the ex-officials and ex-attaches of the municipality, who in the main acknowledged that Paris in war under the Commune cost less than Paris in peace under the Empire, notwithstanding all insinuations of dishonesty against the Communal officials.

NOTES.

Hostages, Prisoners, and Public Buildings—

It is not of record that the Commune ordered any deaths of hostages, the first executions took place on May 24th. The date of the last sitting of the Commune was May 21st.

Prisoners taken in battle by the Commune's forces were generally confined in churches and were always treated humanely.

Extraordinary precautions were taken by the Commune to protect the public buildings from the bursting shells during the siege. Huge amounts of sand were placed in the yards of the public buildings to deaden the force of the projectiles.

Loss in Money—

Fetridge estimates the loss to the city of Paris by the Commune at 867,500,000 francs.

Washburne estimates the loss by fire to have been \$200,000,000.

Election of the Commune—

The number of registered voters was 481,970; 224,197 or 46 per cent. of the voters took part in the election; 89,731 voters cast their votes for the 16 who resigned; those who had voted for those who had resigned added to the abstainers, formed a total of 347,504 out of 482,970 registered electors.

Voters, April 16, 53,879; abstainers, 205,173. The abstentions were 54 in 100 at first election; April 16, 80 in 100.—*J. Simon*. (See pgs. 36 and 67.)

IX.

Frank M. Pixley on The Commune.

[Mr. Pixley was one of the most distinguished and conservative journalists on the Pacific Coast].

The Commune is held up as the personification of misrule and destruction. Communists are represented as that worst element of city life that delights in blood and conflagration, and Paris of 1871 is described as a scene of frightful disorder, submitting to anarchy, pillage and murder.

I was present in the city of Paris during the entire period that the Commune held sway. I was there from the day of the entry of the Germans till the army of Versailles destroyed the Commune, and the experiment of communal government was wiped out of existence by the death of forty thousand citizens, who fell in battle in the streets of the capital of France.

I saw that great city of central Europe held for five weeks by the men of Vilette, Montmartre, and the Faubourg St. Antoine, by the *artisans* and *laborers*, who for the *first time* in seventeen years had had the opportunity to bear arms.* There was the Bank of France with its hoarded wealth of coin, the House of Rothschilds, the Bank of the Hopes of Amsterdam; there were the great magazines and storehouses filled with costly fabrics; shops with jewels of untold value; palaces with costliest gems of art; pictures and marbles of inestimable price. There was a vast population which had for months endured privation, hunger and distress. The *gendarmarie* had been driven out, and there was no other government than that of the Commune.

And yet during five weeks—weeks of menace from without and suffering within—I saw and heard of no single *act of pillage and murder*.

For five weeks the great forts of the *enciente* sent their destructive missiles to the heart of the city. From the

* During the Empire there had been a separation of the workingmen's battalions from the others—*Revere des Deux Mondes, 1872*.

Trocadero of a Sunday afternoon to the Pere la Chaise, the Commune soldiers contended against the Versailles troops. From barricade to barricade, from one open space to another, fighting inch by inch, in desperation the soldiers of the Commune with their wives fighting by their sides, sullenly disputing every stone, block and curb-stone, retreated to the cemetery, and there amid the graves of the dead, the last of the Communists laid down their lives in hopeless, desperate valor.

They *may* have been wrong and misguided, but that they were thieves, murderers and incendiaries, I most indignantly deny.

During five weeks I saw no act of vandalism; I saw no plunder. I saw organization and order.

During the week of *Government* victory I saw scenes of *unparalleled brutality*. I saw a hundred inexcusable bloody acts. I saw a well-dressed matron stabbed to death in the back and flung like a dead beast into an open *port cochere* in the boulevard Haussman, because she lagged behind in the train of prisoners. I saw five little girls lying dead in a heap near the Palace d'Industrie, with their little petticoats thrown over their faces, shot as *petroleuses* by Versailles soldiers. I saw a man torn from his carriage and killed by a hundred deadly bayonet thrusts. I saw hundreds and hundreds of Communists fusiladed and buried in a trench near the river Seine. I saw every sub-lieutenant of the army of France armed with the power to arrest, try, and execute citizens, and this after the fight was over. I have read the death decrees and the decrees of exile that for five years followed this communal uprising.

I do not believe that the Communists either burned or attempted to burn Paris. I believe that the whole petroleum story comes from an absurd scare.

The war of the Commune was to the Great Revolution what the mad raid of John Brown was to our civil war. It was the first electric burst from the overcharged clouds. It will ultimate in the adoption of all the great principles for which the Commune contended.

The Commune was composed of the scholars and thinkers of France. It was a band of patriots. If it had in the mad element of fanaticism, it may be excused. If oppressed labor classes looked for it for relief it was but *natural*. If fanaticism and disorder enrolled themselves to fight under its banners it was because it was the first and only flag where they might enlist. If poverty, distress and desperation looked to it for a change it was but rational.

The history of the Commune is written by its enemies. Like all lost causes it will be misrepresented. What there was of good in it will be *suppressed*. What there was of bad in it will be exaggerated.

The effort of an eye witness, at this late time and in these columns, is but a feeble effort at stemming the tide and current of opprobrium running against the Communists of Paris. Nearly all the press of America and England, nearly every pulpit in Christendom, has denounced the Commune. The press has thundered its anathemas against it, and the throne of God has been bombarded from every Catholic and Protestant priest and preachers' desk with unstinted censure.

Why the Roman church should do so I may guess. Why the Protestant should I do not understand.

This little fragmentary scrap of observation may be gathered up for history, and may help to swell the protest that in the interest of TRUTH may sometime be made.

To the facts of which I speak I bear the testimony of a *living witness*. Of the Commune I was a part. I helped to build the barricade at the Place de l'Opera. It was begun by a woman in a purple frock, and a lad of perhaps fourteen years of age. The rule was that every passer-by should add a stone from the Belgian pavement with which the boulevard was made. I made occasion to pass often. From my window in the Hotel de Hollande, rue de la Paix, I saw the bloody fight of the Place de l'Opera. At this barricade I saw this woman bring water, load the guns, and bear away the empty ones, and when the soldiers of the Commune were beaten off, I saw this purple-gowned amazon, with disheveled hair and bloody arms, alone defend the ramparts that she had aided to raise, till she was stabbed to death with bloody bayonets.

I rode to two midnight sorties with Dombrowski, and I breakfasted with Ockelowitz in the Place Vendome, for the Americans had the universal pass with the officers and soldiers of the Commune. I treated a regiment of Vilette to half a cask of red wine. It was cheap, and I was paid in hearing them cheer the toast I gave them in very bad French—"The Two Republics—the Republic of France, and the *Grand Republic of America*." I shall live to see its realization.

I rode in an open voiture at midnight to the heights of the Butte de Montmartre to witness the artillery duel between it and Valerian. I met with polite attention; I was not robbed.

Let London, or New York, or San Francisco fall under the control of its worst citizens, and we should see scenes of pillage, rapine, violence, drunkenness, theft and murder. Yet in this great rich city of Paris, given over to the Commune for five weeks, with all its wealth and wine, I saw order, sobriety and respect to persons and property.

Hence I feel it my duty to say that Communism does *not* mean a forcible and unlawful distribution of property, nor is the word Communist a synonym for every crime.—
San Francisco *Argonaut*.

The Commune and The Bank.

The occupancy of Paris by the first Socialistic government of the world was marked by one trait of lofty honesty that is unparalleled in the history of any time. Somewhat as in the first revolution of 1789 it was written by the revolvers, "Whoever speaks to the King shall be beaten; whoever insults him shall be shot," so in this last and greater one it was decreed "The wealth of our masters was stolen from us and belongs to us still, yet he among us who dishonor his hand by touching it, shall die."

During the whole administration of the Commune the Bank of France had in its vaults two thousand nine hundred and eighty MILLIONS of francs equal to \$596,000,000. It was comprised as follows:

77,000,000 f. in coin.

11,000,000 f. in bullion.

7,000,000 f. in jewels.

900,000,000 f. in script.

800,000,000 f. in bank-notes.

166,000,000 f. in fractional notes.

899,000,000 f. in large notes.

120,000,000 f. in loan securities.

The private bank of the Hopes of Amsterdam contained:

20,000,000 f. in coin.

5,000,000 f. in bullion.

190,000,000 f. in jewels and plate.

100,000,000 f. in notes and securities.

The private banks of the Rothschilds were said by them to have contained double the amount of wealth held by the Bank of France.

Over one hundred other private banks held the accumulated plunder of the Bourgeoisie—uncounted billions, the gross amount of which cannot even be guessed at.

Every sou of this was absolutely in the hands of the COMMUNE; they had the power to confiscate and use in their battle for life every franc, every note, every jewel.

And from the moment that the Versailles shot in cold blood the first prisoners taken, the Commune by all the rules of so-called "civilized" warfare had the RIGHT to confiscate every penny piece.

What they did confiscate was—NOTHING.

The City of Paris through its regularly elected representatives donated to the Government less than \$2,000,000 of its private funds and this served as the sinews of war.

Whether we doubt its wisdom or no, let us recognize and honor the lofty thought of the slave, that he would not sully his fingers with property which the masters had wrung from him in slavery.

The world babbles with loquacious tongue of the heroes of ancient days, the soldiers and "statesmen" of modern times. Let us, whose brothers rose to the pinnacle of a true heroism, be slow to outrage their memory by joining in that flow of words which elevates the murderer, the thief, and the traitor above the honest man.

And when we do break silence, let our voices few though they be, in protest or acclaim, salute not the sham but the real heroes of this world.—*Truth*, San Francisco, March 15, 1884.

An Awful Retrospect.

"The splendid struggle of the Commune of 1871 has been characterized by the "Edinburgh Review" as the "greatest and most determined attempt that History has ever seen to settle the Social Question by force of arms, the greatest and most determined attempt on the part of the workmen and their leaders to conquer a position from which they could, in the future, regulate Society in their own way." Viewed from the simple historical standpoint, this is exactly what it was. Looked at by the poet, the tale of those five weeks' struggle is a page torn from an epic of the Heroic Age. To the economist, it is the most brilliant uprising of the people in favor of a principle that the world has ever seen. To the Moralist, it is an overwhelming proof of the nobility of man. To the Socialist, it is at once a dirge and a war-cry. A dirge for the dead, but not a sad one, for the dead were ours. They, who laid down their lives so magnificently, were striking for us: These men and women and little children, whom Immortality has gathered to her side, were of and for us, the be-

cursed kicked and scourged wage-slaves of the World. They dared to strike where we dare not move a finger. They dared to die where we tremble even in living. And our masters, finding their backs not bent meekly to the whip, as are ours, shot them down in their tracks as wild beasts are shot. And not content with this, they have lied to us about these heroic martyrs who have died to set us free. Not content with their robbery while living—their murder when they dared resist—they have for thirteen years defamed the dead.

It is time, at least, if we ourselves are too cowardly to break our own chains, that we have the decency to defend the memory of those who tried to break them for us.

The blood of the men, the women, the little children of the Commune calls out to us from the shuddering earth, to-day, for vindication. Let us heed that call now and then to work! And by that work, unceasing, let us hope and pray that ere long, when that blood shall call as well for vengeance, we can respond as men, and not as quailing slaves. Friends, methinks we have but this one thing to do, to spread the light, to record the crimes of the robber-class, to print that record by the million and send it to every nook and corner of this land to make freedom sure. Even upon the report of Thiers himself we are content to rest our case. He reported this: "Number of insurgents arrested from May 28th, 1871 to January 1st, 1872, 38,578; died, 967; acquitted, 3,147; condemned to prison, 10,131; handed over to the civil courts, 212; dismissed, 1,090; shot, 23,121!!!"

But Lissagaray, who chronicles our side of the story swells this number by 20,000 more who fell unknown and unrecorded. Mind you, these people were not killed in battle, but after victory, singly, in couples, squads and droves, men, women and children — for the sole purpose of stamping out forever, in France, the doctrines which would emancipate, when put in practice, the working people of the world.

After the fight was over, for one whole week in Paris the slaughter of the working people went on. The 24,000 shoemakers of Paris were reduced to 12,000; the bronze trade were reduced from 2,500 to 1,500 men; the tailors from 30,000 to 22,000; and other trades in proportion. Every sub-lieutenant of the conquering army was armed with power to execute prisoners summarily. In forty places every day, firing parties were kept at work from morning until late at night at the bloody task. The proof of guilt was to smell of powder or to wear a blouse.

"The condemned were sent to the firing parties in bands of from six to twenty; they fell in heaps in all positions, a sanguinary mass. Of course, many resisted, and others threw themselves at the feet of the soldiers, protesting their innocence, embracing their knees and crying for mercy—mercy which was never accorded. Sometimes there was a wife that came in with her husband to bid him adieu; another time a father with his son; sometimes both or all, and even little children. But once in, none went forth again. In other places the *metrailleuse* mowed them down like grass. Against the eastern wall of *Pere la Chaise*, 1,148 souls were sent to eternity at once. A long trench had been dug, and the prisoners ranged along the edge of it were shot and made to fall in their own graves, and whilst struggling in the throes of death or agony were covered with earth. In one *Fosse Commune* repose 808 and in another 300."

The words quoted above are from the pages of the history of the Commune, written by * * John Leighton, H. S. A., who said that this slaughter was a "retribution for the crime of desecrating the holy precincts of Gods-acre, and on that day of days, the Sabbath," referring to the last stand made on Sunday, by the insurgents, in the cemetery of *Pere-Lachaise*.—*Burnette G. Haskell, 1884.*

In the Interest of "Society."

"As I drove up the broad avenue between Viroflay and Versailles, I overtook a very miserable and dejected company: in file after file of six tramped a convoy of Communist prisoners numbering over 2,000 souls. Patiently and with some apparent consciousness of pride they marched, linked closely arm in arm. Among them were many women, some of them fierce barricade Hecates, others mere girls, soft and timid, here seemingly because a parent was here also. All were bareheaded, foul with dust, many powder-stained, and the burning sun beat down on the frowzy column. Not the sun only beat down, but also the flats of sabres, wielded by the dashing Chasseurs d'Afrique who were the escorts of those unfortunates. Their own experience might have taught them humanity toward their captives. No sabre-blades had descended on their pates during that long, dreary march from Sedan to their German captivity; they were the prisoners of soldiers. But they were prisoners now no longer, as they capered on their wiry barb stallions, and in their pride of cheap victory belabored unmercifully the miserables of the Commune. For many overwearyed creatures who fell out or dropped there was short shrift; my driving-horse had been shying at the corpses on the road all the way from Sevres. At the head of the somber column were 300 or 400 men lashed together with ropes—all powder-stained those—and among them not a few men in red breeches—deserters taken red-handed. I rather wondered what they did in this gang; they might as well have died fighting on the barricades, as survive to be made targets of a day or two later with their backs against a wall.

On the following morning I visited Pere Lachaise, where the very last shots had been fired. Bivouac fires had been fed with souvenirs of pious sorrow, and the trappings of woe had been torn down to be used as bedclothes. * * Shells had fallen freely, and the results were occasionally very ghastly. But the ghastliest sight in Pere-Lachaise was in the southeastern corner, where close to the boundary wall had been a natural hollow. The hollow was now filled up by dead. One could measure the dead by the road. There they lay tier above tier, each tier powdered over with a coating of chloride of lime, 200 of them patent to the eye, besides those underneath hidden by the earth covering layer after layer. Among the dead were many women. There, thrown up in the sunlight, was a well-rounded arm with a ring on one of the fingers; there again was a bust

shapely in death; and there were faces which to look upon made one shudder—faces distorted out of humanity with ferocity and agony combined. The ghastly effect of the dusky white powder on the dulled eyes, the gnashed teeth, and the jagged beards cannot be described. How died those men and women? Where they carted here and laid out in ghastly lying-in-state in this dead-hole of Pere-Lachaise? Not so; the hole had been replenished from close by. There was no difficulty in reading the open book. Just there was where they were posted up against yonder pock-pitted wall, and shot to death as they stood or crouched.”—*Archibald Forbes.*

“The largest butcher pen of modern times is Satory. It is the form of a parallelogram and contains several acres. It was once used as an artillery park, and there still remained the stables used for the horses. But this it was before it had occurred to the Government that they would serve the cause of Justice and Humanity by transporting hither 20,000 people, inclusive of those who fell on the way “by accident.” to be shot. It is said that those 20,000 were the poorest animals ever slaughtered in Paris, which, indeed, is not wonderful, seeing that in the case of human animals the ordinary process must be reversed from fattening to starving.

The butcher pen at Satory is surrounded by walls, and when the great drove of 20,000 victims, less what had fallen on the way “by accident” entered it, there were numerous holes in the walls through which ferocious cannons scowled ominously. When the vast drove arrived the old stables had already been filled to suffocation, and many thousands were huddled together here and there and enclosed by ropes. The drove was marched in a short distance from the gate, and being huddled close together, a rope tied at convenient distance to stakes was drawn around them and a strong guard with chassepots placed over them. They were placed directly in front of several large guns charged with grape and canister, which were ordered to fire into the crowd on the slightest manifestation of disorder. * The rain had now also commenced to pour again and beat upon the poor wretches incessantly. Many, as I have said, were wounded; some of their wounds were sore and some were still fresh and bleeding. So that when a squad was moved from one place to another for any cause, to be shot mainly, one might see stains of blood here and there, and little pools of bloody water. Some of these wounded had their friends with them who did all they could for them, which was very little; others were neglected. Many were very old; some were very young. Most of them were fainting from fatigue, and all of them were hungry. They were too tired to stand. They threw themselves on the ground and the water settled around them, sometimes several inches deep.

Guards were posted thickly everywhere; the poor captives were savage, mad, covered with wet and mud. The faces were begrimed with smoke and powder, which, mingling with the rain which beat in their faces, presented a frightful appearance. The wretched prisoners were nearly all bare-headed, many bare-footed and the great majority scantily dressed or in dirty tatters. They were shivering; their lips pale and bloodless, and their teeth chattering in the cold drifting rain. One thing was observable on all hands: there was no repenting of what they had done, no curses, no revilings, no reproaches against their chiefs, but when they were shot they unanimously shouted: ‘Vive la Commune.’—*Wm. Du Gas Trammell.*

Megy in New York.

Mégy went to New York in 1878, and was interviewed by a reporter of the *New York World* and in brief made the following statement: "I was born in 1844; had a common school education; was apprenticed to a machinist, and joined a secret society which had Blanqui for its head; at 20 I found work on the Suez canal; returned to Paris in 1866; was in the uprising of February 7th; and assisted in the raising of barricades; six police agents were sent to arrest me after the defeat and I killed the first with a pistol; I was overpowered, dragged to prison, sentenced to 20 years at New Caledonia, with hard labor; was released when the Republic was proclaimed. I was in the movement to deprive General Trochu of his command, and a warrant was issued for my arrest; I enlisted under another name and fought the Prussians; went to the South of France at the conclusion of the war; arrested the Prefect of Police at Marseilles and took his place for eight days; in April, 1871, came to Paris and commanded Fort Issy, and after its fall fought at the barricades; participated in the shooting of the hostages at La Roquette; I fought to the last; escaped in a coal cart; went to Geneva; have worked in London and Birmingham, and am now working here in New York."

The Advance of "Order"—

"We have official proof that several houses to which National Guards had fled were surrounded by gen d'armes, and set fire to with petroleum, the bodies being afterward fetched out, in a half-burned state, by the ambulance of the Press of Ternes."—*Sketchley*.

Rewarded by the Conquerors—

Ducatel, who informed the Versaillesse of the undefended condition of Porte St. Cloud, received the Cross of the Legion of Honor, and a public subscription brought him about \$22,000. He also held a government appointment for some years.

Wm. Du Gas Trammell.

William Du Gas Trammel is the only native born American known to have fought at the barricades in defence of the Commune. The following sketch is from the *Atlanta Constitution*:

Judge William DuGas Trammell, born in Harris County, Georgia, in 1848, died in Fort Worth, Texas, June 6, 1884. Mr. Trammell was graduated from University of Georgia, 1870, when that famous school was under the control of Dr. A. A. Lipscomb, by whom Mr. Trammell was regarded as a young man of remarkable talent and unusual promise; leaving school he engaged in the practice of law, but occasionally found recreation in literary pursuits, his chief literary work was "Ca Ira," a novel published about 1874, in which the author embodied views of the social, industrial and political relations of mankind, that excited much comment. Judge Trammell was an earnest advocate of the common people, and at the time of his death was a Vice-President of the "Workingmen's International Association," which had its headquarters in New York City.

He was a devoted son, and a loving, affectionate brother; and the idol of the family—mother, sister and brother—who looked to him, and not in vain, for counsel and support.

Wonderfully conversant with political history for one so young, fond of metaphysical and abstract reasoning, with a keen relish for all speculative philosophy and entertaining views of social and political rights not wholly in sympathy with his time and generation, he was regarded by many as an extremist. Yet his great capabilities were conceded by all who knew him, and, in a less utilitarian age, with favorable surroundings, he would have attained eminence as a philosopher, as a student, as an expounder of political history.

We trust that the great mystery of life, the great theme of his speculative mind, has been revealed to him in perpetual bliss.

"So be it. There no shade can last.
In that deep dawn behind the tomb.
But clear from marge to marge shall bloom.
The eternal landscape of the past."

"Recollections."

"The city was delivered from the monstrous oppression of the insurrectionists who, for 10 weeks, had held the people in terror,—murdering, robbing, imprisoning, and making life one continual torment. Then came the reaction. When the orderly and peaceful citizens, relieved from the shocking tyranny of the Commune, began to get the upper hand as is natural to suppose, they were inspired with a certain degree of rage which it was almost impossible to control. No sooner had Paris been captured than the great work began of arresting the thousands of criminals—murders, assassins, robbers, desperadoes, and outlaws of every description—who had so long made the beautiful city a *pandemonium*. In the most insurrectionary parts of the town the people were arrested *en masse*,

It would take *too long* to recount all the frightful incidents which followed the capture of Paris. There were no less than fifty thousand insurgents arrested; how many were summarily executed *will never be known*.—*Washburne*.

THE SPIRIT OF INTERNATIONALISM.

The number of high positions held by foreigners under the Commune was very large :

- Anys-el-Biltar, Director of Manuscripts at National Library [Egyptian].
 Biondetti, Surgeon-in-Chief, 233d battalion [Italian].
 Babick, Member of the Commune [Pole].
 Becka, Adjutant of the 207th battalion [Pole].
 Cluseret, General, Delegate of War [Frenchman naturalized American].
 Cernatesco, Surgeon-major [Pole].
 Crapulinski, Colonel of the Staff [Pole].
 Capellaro, Member of Military Bureau [Italian].
 Carneiro de Cunha, Surgeon-major of the 38th battalion [Portuguese].
 Charalambo, Surgeon-major of the Federal sharpshooters (Pole).
 Cyprani, Italian, Aide to Flourens.
 Dombrowski, Ladislas, General of the forces of the Commune (Pole).
 Dombrowoki, Jaroslaw—his brother—Colonel of the staff (Pole)
 Durnoff, Commandant of a legion (Pole)
 Echenlaub, Colonel of the 88th battalion (German).
 Ferrara Gola, Director-general of the ambulances (Portuguese).
 Frankel, Member of the Commune (Prussian).
 Giorok, Commandant (Wallachian).
 Grejorok, Commandant of the artillery at Montmartre (Wallachian).
 Kertzfeld, Director-in-chief of the ambulances (German).
 Izquierdo, Surgeon-major of the 88th battalion (Pole).
 Jalowski, Surgeon-major of the Republican Zouaves (Pole).
 Kobosko, Placed in the order of day of army of the Commune (Pole).
 La Cecilia, General (Italian).
 Landowski, Aide-de-camp of General Dombrowski (Pole).
 Mizara, Commandant of the 104th battalion (Italian).
 Maratuck, Aide-major of the 72d battalion (Hungarian).
 Moro, Commandant of the 22d battalion (Italian).
 Okolowicz and his brothers, General and staff-officers (Poles)
 Ostyn, member of the Paris Commune (Belgian).
 Olinski, Chief of the 17th legion (Pole).
 Pisani, Aide-de-camp of Flourens (Italian).
 Potampenski, Aide-de-camp of General Dombrowski (Pole).
 Ploubinski, Staff officer (Pole).
 Pazdzierswski, Commandant (Pole).
 Piazza, Chief of legion (Italian).
 Pugne, Musical-director at the opera (Italian).
 Romanelli, Director of war materials (Italian).
 Rozzski, Surgeon-major of the 144th battalion (Pole).
 Rubinowicz, Staff-officer [Pole].
 Rubinowicz, [P.] Surgeon-major of the fusileers of marine [Pole].
 Syneck, Surgeon-major of 151st battalion [German]
 Skalski, Surgeon-major of the 240th battalion [Pole].
 Soteriade, Surgeon-major [Spaniard].
 Thailer, Sub-governor of Fort Bicetre [German].
 Van Ostal, Commandant of the 115th battalion [Dutch].
 Vetzal, Commandant of the southern forts [German].
 Wrobleski, General Commandant of the army of the South [Pole].
 Wetten, Surgeon-major of the 72d battalion [naturalized American].
 Zengerler, Surgeon-major of the 74th battalion [German].

[This list is incomplete.]

MEMBERS.

"I" member Int. W. A. Names, Occupations, Punishments, etc. * Living.

Adam, merchant, — Allix, Jules, teacher, shot; Amouroux, hatter, transported for life; Andrieu, teacher, escaped to London; Arnaud, Antoine, railroad employe, I., shot; Arnold,* architect; Arnould, Arthur, man of letters; escaped to Switzerland; Assi, engineer, I., transported for life; Avrial,* engineer, I., escaped.

Babick, laborer, escaped to Switzerland; Barre, tobacconist, escaped; Bergeret, printer, I., escaped. Beslay, civil engineer, I., escaped; Billio-ray, artist, I., transported for life; Blanchet, priest, I., shot; Blanqui, political economist and journalist, imprisoned; de Bouteiller, naval officer, — Brelay, merchant, shot; Briosne,* — Brunel,* traveller, —

Chalain, brass-turner, I., shot; Champy, chaser, transported for life, Chardon, coppersmith, escaped to Switzerland; Cheron, merchant, shot; Clemence, book-binder, I., escaped; Clement, Emil, shoemaker, shot; Clement, J. B., literary man, escaped to London; Clement, Victor, working dyer, three months in prison; Cluseret, agitator, I., escaped, Courbet, artist, six months in prison, and fine; Cournet, journalist, escaped.

Delescluze, journalist, I., shot on the barricade; Demay, workman, unknown; Dereure, shoemaker, I., escaped to America; Decamps, iron founder "acquitted;" Demasrest, advocate, unknown; Dupont, G., bank clerk, shot; Dupont, Clovis, basket maker, I., shot; Durand, shoemaker, escaped; Duval, iron founder, I., shot.

Eudes, reporter, I.,

Ferre, accountant, shot; Ferry, Emile, unknown; Flourens, professor, journalist, I., cut to death with sabre. Fortune, Henry, I., shot; Frankel, jeweler, I., shot; Fruneau, unknown.

Gambon, ex-Deputy, I., shot; Garibaldi, M. declined office; Gerardin, Eugene, workman, unknown; Gerardin, Charles, traveller, unknown; Geresme, corset-maker, I., shot; Goupil, physician, "arrested;" Grousset Paschal, journalist, I., transported for life.

Johannard, traveler, I., — Jourde, medical student, I., transported.

Langevin, turner, I., shot; Ledroit, merchant, unknown; Lefevre, Ernest, journalist, I., shot; Lefrancais, accountant, I., escaped to Geneva; Leroy, Albert, literary man, unknown; Loiseau-Pinson, unknown; Lonclas, hotel-keeper, escaped; Longuet, student, I., escaped.

Malon, clerk, I., shot; Marmottan, physician, I., shot; Martelet, decorative painter, I., escaped to Geneva; Meillet, Leo,* law student, I., escaped; Meline, advocate, fate unknown; Miot, Jules, chemist, I., shot; Mortier, architect, I., shot; Murat, engineer, I., shot.

Nast, unknown.

Ostyn,* workman, I., Oudet, porcelain painter, I., shot.

Parent, Ulysse, journalist, "acquitted;" Parisel, physician, I., shot; Phillippe, hotel-keeper, I., shot; Pillot, physician, I., shot; Pindy, joiner, I., escaped to London; Pottier, designer, I., shot; Protot,* advocate, escaped to Belgium; Puget, accountant, unknown; Pyat, escaped.

Ranc —; Ranvier, painter, escaped to London; Rastoul, physician, I., transported; Regere, veterinary surgeon, I., shot; Robinet, physician, I., unknown; Rigault, Rioul, law student, shot; Rogeard, man of letters, I., shot; Roehard, —)

Serraller, last-maker, I., escaped to London; Sicard, shoe-maker, I., unknown; Serizier, carrier, shot.

Theisz, silver chaser, I., escaped to London; Tirard, jeweler, unknown; Tridon, medical student, reported died at Brussels; Triquet, shoemaker, I., hard labor for life.

Urbain, school master, I., hard labor for life.

Vaillant,* journalist, civil engineer, I.; escaped to London; Valles, Jules, journalist, I., — Varlin, book-binder, I., shot; Verdure, accountant, I., transported for life; Vermorel, journalist, shot; Vesinier, secretary to Eugene Sue, I., escaped; Viard, clerk, escaped.

PROMINENT CHARACTERS

"I" member Int. W. A. Names, Occupations, Punishments etc. * Living.

Abadie, civil engineer, fate unknown; Alavoine, I., fate unknown; Andignoux, wine merchant, I., prison for life; Anys-el-Biltar, manager MSS. department National Library, I., fate unknown; Avoine Sr., modeler, I., escaped; Avoine Jr., modeler, I., shot.

Barraud, workman, fate unknown; Bastelica, I., organizer, escaped to London; Bouis, Casimir, journalist, unknown; Boullenger, C. C., prison for life; Boursier, wine merchant, I., escaped.

Camelinat, jeweler, I., unknown; Castioni, I., prison for life; Cavalier Georges, civil engineer, I., hard labor for life; Cavesky, butcher, unknown, Charles, hair dresser, unknown; Chouteau, house painter, unknown; Combatz, telegrapher, unknown; Combault, jeweler, I., unknown.

Dacosta, journalist, I., prison; Debock, printer, I., escaped to London; Dennis, Pierre, editor, unknown; Dombrowski, Ladilas, I., Ex-Officer in Russian Army, shot May 23; Dombrowski, Jaroslaw, I., served with his brother, escaped; Du Bisson, ex-General, I., unknown; Durassier, shot.

Fabre, clerk, I., shot; Fontaine, professor of mathematics, I., shot in the Rue Bonaparte; Ferrat, man of letters, I., transported for life; Fosse, unknown.

Gaillard Sr., shoe-maker, escaped; Ganiot, Pyrrhus, in prison; Ganiem, d'Abin, General in Chief of the King of Siam, I., unknown; Garnier, Eugene, actor, I., shot; Gaudier, shot; Genton, shot; Gouhier, I., shot; Grélier, bleacher, escaped; Groslard, circus, unknown; Guedenal, writer, unknown.

Henry, actor, I., unknown; Henry, artistic, I., imprisoned; Henry, army officer, I., shot; Humbert, journalist, unknown. Jaclard, professor of mathematics, I., prison for life; Josselin, bank clerk, unknown.

Lacaille, unknown; La Cecilia, ex-professor of mathematics at Ulm, I., escaped to England; Lacord, cook, unknown; Landeck, jeweler, I., escaped to Barcelona. Laroque, journalist, I., prison for life; Lavallette, draper, I., prison for life; Lebeau, ex-army officer, I., prison for life; Le Moussu, insurance, unknown; Levrault, wine merchant, unknown; Lisbonne, actor, I., wounded, prison for life; Lissagaray, journalist, I., escaped to England; Lullier, Charles, ex-naval officer, I., —

Maljournal, bookbinder, I., wounded, prison; Maret, journalist, fined 500 francs, Maroteau, journalist, I., shot; Matuzewicz, army officer, I., unknown; May, brothers, jewelers, I., unknown; Megy, engineer, I., escaped; Milliere, journalist, I., shot; Moreau, journalist, I., shot; Mourot, journalist, I., shot.

Napiar, Piquet, I., shot.

Ockolowicz, agitator, escaped from Satory.

Painchaud, unknown; Passedouet, wine merchant, I., unknown; Peyronton, advocate, unknown; Peyrusset, naval officer, I., shot; Pilotell, artist, prison for life; Piat, P. escaped; Pougeret I., shot.

Razoua, journalist, I., escaped to Geneva; Regnard, student, escaped; Regnier, shot; Rochefort, journalist, I., transported for life; Romanetti, ex-army officer, unknown; Rossel, captain of engineers, shot; Rousseau, porter, unknown. Salvador, musician, shot in the Rue Jacob; Secondigne, journalist, unknown; Sylvestre, unknown. Tony Moilin, physician, shot; Toupe, unknown; Treilhard, solicitor, shot. Van der Hooven, unknown; Vermesch, journalist, escaped; Vericq, Jean, officer, unknown; Volpesnil, unknown. Wroblewski, Russian general, shot.

THE WOMEN.

Madame Leroy, prison for life. Marchais, shot. Leo, Andre, escaped.
Bocquin, 10 years in prison. Retiff, shot. Robert, prison for life.
Michel, Louise, prison for life. Suetins, shot. Bonard, prison for life.
Bonnefoy, prison for life. Minck, Paule, escaped.

[This record is only partial].

LETTER FROM EDOUARD VAILLANT.

15 Villa du Bel Air,
PARIS, December 24, 1897.

G. B. Benham :

DEAR SIR—It is not an easy task for me to answer your letter at once. I do not know how many members of the Commune are now living; I tell you only what I know, of the following, now living members of the Commune: Cluseret, Paschal Grousset and myself, Edouard Vaillant, are now members of the French Chamber of Deputies.

G. Lefrançais writes now in the French Socialist paper *l'Aurore*.

J. B. Clément, poet and writer, writes now in the Socialist paper *La Petite République*.

Longuet, Chief Inspector of the Teaching of the Modern Languages in the Schools of Paris.

Brunel, Professor of the French language in the Royal Naval School, Woolwich, (or perhaps Dartmouth,) England.

Leo Meillet, Professor of the French language in the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Champy, conseiller prudhomme, (elected judge in trades disputes between employers and employed).

Arnold, Architect, Teacher of Drawing in the School of Paris.

Protot, Barrister.

Avrial, Engineer.

Ostyn, Manager of an insurance company.

I have so told you either what I know or what I was told.

Believe me, dear sir, yours very sincerely,

EDOUARD VAILLANT,

M. R. C. S. Eng.



THIERS

X.

Enemies of The Commune.

That the National Assembly had been elected under a restricted mandate, has never been controverted. Its business was to decide on the question of peace or war, and then to dissolve, so that an Assembly, chosen as legislators by the people might take its place, bearing direct from the constituencies a clear expression of the public will on all the great questions of the day.*

Cassell says : " That the Assembly did ultimately proceed to settle the form of government, does not at all show that it had any right to do so."

Louis Adolphe Thiers was born April 16th, 1797, at Marseille; died September 5th, 1877. Thiers was the son of a locksmith. He studied law, but met with little success as an advocate. His " History of the French Revolution " raised him to celebrity. His " History of the Consulate and Empire " is considered his greatest work.

Thiers " History of the French Revolution " founded his literary and helped his political fame. The well-known sentence of Carlisle that " it is as far as possible from meriting its high reputation " is in strictness justified in regard to all Thiers' historical works. They are all marked by extreme inaccuracy, by prejudice which passes the limit of accidental unfairness and sometimes seems to approach positive dishonesty. His works possess, however, in a high degree the gifts of clearness, liveliness and intelligible handling. In all his writings he displayed great knowledge of military operations.

*The Assembly which gathered at Bordeaux consisted of Orleanists 400; Republicans, 150; Legitimists, 50; Bonapartists, 20; doubtful, 30. This body, whose acts have to some extent been referred to, was, as may be seen by the political beliefs represented, an exceedingly conservative Congress.

The International Association of Workers was by the National Assembly on March, 1872, declared to be illegal, and to belong to it was a penal offence.

"The chronicle of Thiers' life is the record of the misfortunes of France." A Republican in 1830, he betrayed Laffitte, excited mob riots against the clergy, and thus ingratiated himself with Louis Philippe. The subsequent massacres of Republicans were largely his work, and the laws against association and a free press were the result of his exertions. It was his plan to fortify Paris in 1840. The Republicans denounced it a plan to endanger their liberty. This he declared to be impossible. He sneered at railways as wild chimeras, while a minister of Louis Philippe. In 1848 he shook with horror when Palermo was bombarded by the government "because the city demanded its rights." Eighteen months after he defended the bombardment of Rome by French troops. Anxious for notoriety, he declared himself a revolutionist, not only in France, but of Europe. He left the first ministry a millionaire, though he went into office an impecunious adventurer. Again in office, his speculations exposed him to taunts in the Chamber of Deputies, to which he replied in copious tears. "He perpetually harped on the French loss of prestige, and so contributed more than any one else to stir up that fatal spirit which brought on the war of 1870, and while constantly weakening the government of his country, he gave no help nor even offered any." (Enc. Brit.)

Thiers was consistent only in his greed for wealth and in hatred of the men who produced it. The Second Empire had more than doubled the National debt; the municipalities had enormously increased their liabilities and now added to this was the huge amount of indebtedness necessarily incurred to pay the demands of the victors. Patriot that he was, he was content to endow himself with three million francs a year in the Bordeaux Assembly, at a time when the financial downfall of France seemed thus impending.

Beslay, a member of the Commune, (himself a capitalist) thus addressed Thiers: "The enslavement of labor by capital has always been the cornerstone of your policy, and since the very day the Republic of Labor was installed in the Hotel de Ville, you have never ceased to cry 'these are criminals.'"

A master in small state roguery, a virtuoso in perjury and treason, a craftsman in all the petty stratagems, cunning devices, and base perfidies of Parliamentary party-warfare; never scrupling, when out of office, to fan a revolution, and to stife it in blood when at the helm of the State; with class prejudices standing him in the place of ideas, and vanity in the place of a heart; his private life as infamous as his public life is odious—even now, when playing the part of a French Sulla, he cannot help setting off the abomination of his deeds by the ridicule of his ostentation.—*Address of Int. W. A.*

The London *Spectator*, speaking of Thiers, says: "At the age of 74, after passing through every conceivable shade of political opinion * without pretending to have any other guide to his gyrations than expediency. * * That he has ever understood what an historical principle, what a political principle, what even an economical principle means, we do not in the least believe. Poor France indeed with such a savior. He has lived his whole life on the hand to mouth principle both as a litterateur and statesman."

In those artifices dependent on falsehood and insincerity, there has been scarcely a man in public life whose record equals that of Thiers. Every mask of political character seemed to fit him with singular exactness—Orleanist, Imperialist, Republican, Revolutionist—with all the intermediate shades of political complexion—he had assumed and discarded them with the inconstancy of a harlot and the flippancy of a mountebank.

Of the prisoners brought to Versailles in early April, (the barbarous treatment and killing of which were a spectacle enjoyed from a balcony by Madames Thiers and Favre.) Thiers said: "Never have more degraded countenances of a degraded democracy met the afflicted gaze of honest men."

While endeavoring to enlist the assistance of outside districts on March 25th he said: "Come what may, I shall send no army to Paris." On May 18th Thiers said: "I desire to punish none but the murderers of Lecomte and Clement Thomas." As the time for entering Paris drew near he said

in the Assembly. "I shall be pitiless; the expiation shall be complete." On the 22d he said "to-day I come to tell you our goal is reached." "Our soldiers merit our highest esteem" was Thiers' way in public reports, of encouraging the continuance of the murders, which were not only opposed to the dictates of humanity, but contrary to the usages of 'civilized warfare.'

Under the exterior of a savant and a litterateur, was concealed the sanguinary disposition of a Caligula or Justinian II. Lacking the courage of a soldier, he displayed the malignity of a tyrant.

From the abyss of darkness to which his heinous acts consign him, he will be dragged to view in days to come, to illustrate the crafty ambition of a sycophant, the conduct of an unprincipled politician and the inhumanities of an aged despot.

Thiers, when elected in the Assembly as President of the French Republic, was given full powers to choose all his cabinet officers. He asserted "that in selecting them he had been guided solely by the public esteem they enjoyed and their character and capacities." His selections were as follows :

Dufaure, Minister of Justice; Favre, Foreign Affairs; Picard, Interior; J. Simon, Public Instruction; Lambrecht, Commerce; General de Flo, War; Admiral Pathuau, Marine; de Larey, Public Works; Pouyer-Quertier, Finance.

Jules Favre was a lawyer of note and had been a prominent member of the Republican party. He was born at Lyons, March 21st, 1809. Although Favre was an orator of much power "renowned for the Attic elegance of his language," he had little ability as a statesman, and his private life was singularly disgraceful. He died at Versailles January 20th, 1880.

Millere was shot by the express and standing order of Jules Favre. During the armistice between the Germans and the French, when Favre was candidate for the Peace Assembly, Millere wrote an article in which it was

alleged that Favre had lived for many years in concubinage with the wife of a drunken resident of Algiers, and had, by a "daring concoction of forgeries spread over many years, contrived to grasp, in the name of the children of his adultery a large succession, which made him a rich man, and that in a law suit undertaken by the legitimate heirs, he only escaped exposure by the connivance of the Bonapartists tribunals." All this was incontrovertibly proven to be true in the courts in a case brought after the Commune by Favre, in which he sought damages from the man who had given Millere the information. The evidence disclosed at the trial completely wrecked Favre politically.

Dufaure, Minister of Justice, was 84 years of age, lawyer of Orleanist sympathies, and had been

the "justiciary of the state of siege as now in 1871 under Thiers, so in 1839 under Louis Bonaparte's Presidency." Dufaure distinguished himself by formulating laws of deportation which exceeded in speed and sweeping action the statutes which had been for the Second Empire sufficiently effective. Dufaure in a circular on April 23rd, commended the Assembly to treat the "cry of conciliation as a crime."

Pouyer-Quertier, Minister of Finance was a cotton spinner of Rouen, who had attained "eminence" by his success in withholding from the product of his employes sufficient amounts to make him recognized as a financial luminary.

Picard, (with his brother, a notorious criminal) had used his official position to enrich himself in stock gambling while Paris was undergoing the Prussian siege. Picard amused himself in Versailles by going from one group of captives to another jesting in loud tones on the nature of their wounds, their unwashed condition and the necessity for their death.

As for those of the Ministry not specially mentioned here, there seems to have been nothing to distinguish them from the ordinary place-seekers of the time, who had gained Thiers esteem by the facility with which they had advanced themselves during the infamous reign of the Third Napoleon.

Marie Edme Patrice Maurice MacMahon, duc de Magenta, was born in 1808, a son of a peer of France. His services in the Italian campaign for 1859, and particularly at the battle of Magenta gained for him his title. He was defeated at Worth and at Sedan in the Franco-German war of during the Second Empire. His action during the

Commune was acceptable to the bourgeois, and he was president of the French Republic 1873-79.

McMahon and Bismarck, for many years after the Commune, were zealous in their efforts in dogging those survivors who escaped the tribunals of the Versailles.

Almost every European country was willing and anxious to have any fugitives within their borders extradited and executed.

Victor Hugo, called to Belgium by the death of a relative, notified the world through the Brussels press on May 26th, that the asylum denied by Belgium he would offer in his private residence in Brussels. On the following night the lovers of "order" stoned his house; he narrowly escaped severe injury, and the Belgium government issued an order for his ejection from Belgium territory.

United States Minister Washburne was the only foreign representative who officially recognized the Commune. Washburne also represented the German and Mexican governments, and seems to have been general utility man for all enemies of the Commune. While ostensibly interesting himself in the hostages and other matters as a private citizen he solicited and was granted favors never obtained by private individuals. Ferré had the courage to resent his constant meddling.

NOTE—Megy in an interview (1878) characterized Minister Washburne as "a liar and a German spy during the Commune." Frank M. Pixley (after the publication of Washburne's book 1887) expressed substantially the same sentiments.

COMMUNIST'S ARMS AND OCCUPATIONS

There was taken from the Communists the following arms: 285,000 chassepots; 195,000 guns *a tabatiere*; 68,000 guns *a piston*; that is, 548,000 guns of different models, with sabre bayonets, or bayonets with their corresponding shoulderbelt; 56,000 cavalry sabres of all forms and for all ranks; 14,000 carbines, mostly Enfield; 39,000 revolvers. Finally, 10,000 arms of every kind, such as daggers, stilettoes, sword-canes, etc., giving a total of 637,000 weapons of every kind taken from the hands of the Communists, and 1,700 pieces of cannon and mitrailleuses.

There were from 15,000 to 20,000 arrested and transported. From the official report of General Appertz, we take the following nine classes of workmen:—Laborers, 2,901; locksmiths, 2,634; masons, 2,293; cabine makers, 1,637; shopmen, 1,598; servants, 1,402; clerks, 1,065; cabmen, 1,024; painters, 863—making 15,477, in nine categories out of 33, besides several men of property. Other classification by occupation on pages 40 and 216.)

ARRESTS, PUNISHMENTS, ETC.

The following is a list of arrested members of the Commune, apprehended previous to 12 months after May 29, 1871:

Aut, Arnaud, Assi, Amoureux, G. Arnold, Billioray, V. Clement, E. Clement, Courbet, Champy, A. Dupont, C. Dupont, Paschal Grousset, E. Gerardin, Geresme, Goupil, Jourde, Pillot, Regere, Rastoul, Trinquet, Urbain, Verdure. All of these were sentenced to various penalties, varying from hard labor and transportation for life to three month's imprisonment, two also had fines to pay. Jourde was sentenced to transportation; Rastoul had the same sentence. Assi, Grousset, Billioray, Regere, Verdure and Ferrat to deportation and confinement in a fortress. Courbet six months imprisonment, and fined 500 francs; Clement to three months.

Trials were had on the absentees including the dead, and Rigault, Delescluze and Varlin were sentenced to death. Fifty members of the Commune had not been captured May 29, 1872, (many of them were dead) but they were tried, and, on various charges, 39 being sentence to death, 11 to life imprisonment. They were as follows:

Allix, Avrial, A. Arnould, Andrieu, Babick, Blanchet, Bergeret, Brunel, Cluseret, Chardon, Cournet, J. B. Clement, Clemence, Chalain, Demay, Durand, Dereure, Frankel, Ch. Gerardin, Gambon, Henri Fortune, Lonclas, Lonquet, Langevin, Lefrancais, Ledroyt, Martelet, Mortier, Meillet, Miot, Malon, Ostyn, Oudet, Pindy, Pottier, Protot, Puget, Parisel, Pyat, Ranvier, Ranc, Sicard, Serailier, Theisz, Viard, Vesinier, Vaillant.

Forty-five members of the Committee Central had been arrested within a year after the Commune's fall and 39 were uncaptured.

Lullier, Maxime Lisbonne and Grelier, members of the Committee Central were sentenced to death. It was expected that Lullier would be acquitted on the grounds of insanity.

Ulysee Parent, Lefevre and Descamps were acquitted, and the others captured were transported.

The following were executed on dates given, being sentenced for offenses mentioned:

Ferre, (Member of Commune), was executed Nov. 28, 1871, for complicity in the affair of the hostages; Phillipe, (Member Commune) Jan. 22d, 1873, for incendiarism; Rossel, for bearing arms against France, 28th Nov., 1871. (It is said Thiers made efforts to save Rossel's life.) Serizier and Boin, complicity in the killing of the Dominicans May 25th, 1872; Rouillac, killing Chemist Dubois, July 6th, 1872; Lecroix and Lagrang, Federates, and Verdguer, Sergeant 88th regiment de marche, participation in the Lecomte-Clement-Thomas shooting, the first on Feb. 23d, the last two Feb. 22, 1872; Boudin, incendiarism, May 25, 1872. For shooting hostages in Rue Haxo; Aubroy, Dalivoust, De Saint Omer, Francois, July 25, 1872, and Benot, Jan. 22d, 1873. For shooting hostages at La Roquette; Genton, April 30th, 1872; Lolive, Sept. 18, 1872. Shooting Chauday; Preau de Vedel, March 19, 1872; for shooting Comte de Beaufort, Deniville, Sept. 19, 1872.

There was a bitter feeling among the French populace when the atrocities of the Versailles were brought to their remembrances by the action of these Courts. The Deputies were averse to granting amnesty to the prisoners and exiles, though various attempts were made to that end. However, in March, 1879, a partial amnesty was granted, which restored to full citizenship all but 400 fugitives, and all prisoners except about 300. On July 12, 1880, full amnesty to all prisoners or exiles was decreed and nearly all returned to France. London had been the home of very many of the exiles, some of whom had achieved distinction in English Governmental and other positions. Some arrests and sentences took place as late as 1877.

Total number of prisoners recorded as taken 38,578. Of these 1,090 were liberated after simply questioning; 967 died before trial; 1,957

were men, 235 women, 77 children. The 36,309 unaccounted for above were arrested as follows:

Before the entry into Paris	3,224
During the 8 days' fight	18,756
Fugitives handed over by Prussians	625
After the fall of the Commune	13,399
Captured at various times outside Paris	305
	<hr/>
	36,309

The prisoners are classified as follows:

Persons holding official position in Commune	438
Federates, 16 or more years of age	29,409
" under 16 years of age	93
Persons, not Federates, engaged in the insurrection (including some irregular bands of armed men)	5,105
Women, 16 or more years of age	819
Girls, under 16	4
Boys, under 16, not attached to military	441
	<hr/>
	36,309

There were 1,725 foreigners, which included 27 Englishmen, 17 Americans and 81 Germans, and larger percentages of Belgians, Italians, Swiss, Poles and Dutch.

Tried for Political Offenses	9,373
Of these there were—Men	9,262
Boys	51
Women	59
Girls	1
Tried for Offenses against person	441
Of these there were—Men	393
Boys	2
Women	46
Tried for Offenses against property	323
Of these there were—Men	295
Boys	1
Women	27

Totals	10,137	10,137
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After long detentions, averaging five months, on "no charge," 23,727 were liberated. To attend to trial of remaining 12,582, two Military Courts were established, which number was increased to 26, and two Courts of Revisions; a Court of Pardons was also put in operation in July, 1871; 95 prisoners were sentenced to death, and 10,137 sentenced to various penalties, many to transportation, many to perpetual hard labor, a few to simple police surveillance. There were 139 sentences annulled out of 2,962 by the court on application. The sentence of 72 condemned to death were commuted to imprisonment.

It is believed that the reports of the trials, sentences, etc. as here given, do not represent the total of persons taken and punished otherwise than by immediate killing. There are conflicting statements regarding the matter, and it is stated by many eminent writers that at least 15,000, and by some, that many more than 15,000 persons were transported.

The mere number of sentences to transportation does not cover the real facts concerning the punishment of those convicted. "The cat o' nine tails, the irons in the ship's hold, the blows and insults of the warders, the semi starvation, all the refinements of cruelty" accompanied the unfortunate rebels on their way to their imprisonment and exile.

Plato wrote: "A state in which classes exist is not one but two. The poor constitute one state and the rich another; and both, living in the closest proximity, are constantly on the watch against each other."

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London "Times," (1871); London "News," (1871); San Francisco	
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APPENDIX.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

Condensed from the German Handbook of Socialism.

AMOUROUX, Charles, born in 1843 at Chalabre, Aude; in 1863 organized a union of hat makers at Nantes. He was sent by the Commune of Paris to Toulouse, St. Etienne, Lyons and Marseilles. He was very successful in organizing the Communal uprisings in those cities; was transported for life after the Commune's defeat; returned after amnesty; was elected member of Paris Municipal Council 1882; to the Chamber of Deputies from St. Etienne 1885; died soon after his election.

AVRIAL, Augustin, born 1840 at Revel, Haute-Garonne. Left the army at the age of 25 and became a civil engineer. Organized a union of the workers in his profession; became a member of "Cercle des etudes Sociales"; belonged to the "Societes Ouvriers." Arrested May, 1870, and imprisoned for two months for participation in the International.

BESLAY, born July 4, 1795 at Dinan. Well educated; became engineer; deputy in 1830; interested himself in social questions in early life and became an adherent in Socialistic beliefs; started a machine foundry with his employees as profit sharers; this undertaking failed, and Beslay lost a considerable fortune; his financial ruin was fully accomplished by means of a mutual bank. He was a Prudhonian; one of the founders of the French International and one of the most active members of the society. He died Mar. 30, 1878, in Switzerland, which was his home after the fall of the Commune.

BLANQUI, Louis Auguste, born 1805 in Puget-Theniers, died Paris Jan 1, 1881; an educated man, in early life a teacher; fought on barricades at Paris in 1830, and was concerned in every revolutionary movement which took place in France up to the time of his death, except when prevented by his numerous and long imprisonments for political offences. Conspiracy against governments through secret societies, in which organizations he was both promoter and participant made up his program for the advancement of liberty. His followers who were numerous, were known as Blanquists. Blanqui's importance to the Commune's cause was evidently much overrated, and the strenuous attempts made for the exchange of Darboy and others for him seems to have been an effort on the part of the Commune to get rid of inconvenient prisoners, which it would show weakness to release and ferocity to execute.

CHALAIN, Louis, born Jan. 10, 1840, at Plessis-Dorne. He read a defence written by Thiesz and Avrial in the third prosecution of the International under the Empire. The writing of the defence was credited to him, and on the strength of this he was elected to the Commune, where he was a silent member. "He escaped to Austria after the fall of the Commune."

CLEMENT, Jean Baptiste, born May, 1837, Boulogne-sur-Seine. At the age of 12 he was apprenticed as a coppersmith; in 7 years he became a skilled workman; educated himself, and wrote under name of "Carmagnoles" a series of Paris stories which cost him a years' imprisonment. Returning to Paris after the amnesty he unremittingly forwarded the propaganda of Socialism by pen and voice. In 1887 he wrote *la Revanche des Communeux*, but became best known by his *Chansons* published in Paris in 1885.

CLUSERET, Gustave Paul, born Paris, June 13, 1823; pupil of military school of St. Cyr; took part in Garibaldi's campaign in Sicily. Participated in the uprising in Lyons in June, 1870; returned to Paris after the amnesty, and engaged in journalistic pursuits, writing for the *Commune* and the *Marseillaise*; for his writings he was condemned to 15 months imprisonment and 2,000 fr. fine; in Jan., 1881, he was sentenced to 2 years and 3 000 fr. fine for inciting the army to revolt. Elected deputy, 1889-1893 (See pages 82-38).

COURNET, Frederic, born Louvrent, 1839. His father fought at the barricades in 1848, and found a tragic end in exile. Cournet, as early as 1862 participated in the insurrections against Napoleon III. In 1867 he joined the staff of the *Reveil*; imprisoned 63 days in Mazas 1869; in Feb. 1870 again imprisoned in Mazas. In March, 1871, he was a member of the Committee Central; represented the 19th arrondissement in the Commune. Was one of the last fighters at the barricades, but escaped to London, where he became member of the General Council of the International. He retired from the International after Council at Hague. Became member of Municipal Council in Paris in 1881. Died, Paris, 1885.

DEREURE, Simon, born 1823; Internationalist; participator in Council of Hague. After amnesty was an active worker in the Socialist movement in Paris.

DUPONT, Eugene-Clovis, born 1840. One of the original members of the International. After the fall of the Empire, he became one of the most popular speakers at the clubs. Had charge of the administration of the 3d arrondissement during the Commune. After escaping from Paris, he became corresponding secretary for the General Council of the International at London.

EUDES, Emile, born Roncey, Manche, on Sept. 12, 1844. Was an active pupil of Blanqui. During the fighting in Paris he was accompanied by his young wife, who, on horseback and armed with carbine and revolvers, was active in the defence, and raised the spirits and incited the efforts of the Communal resistance. Eudes escaped to Switzerland; engaged in revolutionary journalism; returned to Paris in 1880, and succeeded as leader of the Blanquists on the death of Blanqui. Eudes died August 5, 1888, and a monument was erected to him in 1893 in Pere Lachaise cemetery.

FRANKEL, Leo, born Buda-Pesth, Feb. 14, 1844. One of the founders of the Lyons section of the International. Condemned in 1870 to two months' imprisonment for belonging to a secret organization. Escaped to London, became corresponding secretary of Austro-Hungary for the International; took part in Congress of Hague in 1872; returned to Hungary, and was active in Socialist movement; condemned to 18 months' imprisonment for violating press law; left Hungary; participated in Paris Congress in 1889; in 1881 at Brussels; in 1893 at Zurich. Was Paris correspondent of Berlin *Vorwaerts*; died Paris, 1897.

GUESDE, Jules Basil, born Paris, November 11, 1845; educated by his father, who was a private tutor. Guesde early showed extraordinary ability; at 20 he was a political journalist, and opposed the 2d Empire in Paris, Toulouse and Montpellier; in vain he attempted to induce the latter city to join in the Communal uprising which centered in Paris in 1871, and of which he was a passionate supporter. He founded a section of the International in Geneva; was driven from Italy in 1876, and has edited many Socialist papers in Paris since that time; has been a member of the Chamber of Deputies, where he has shown great oratorical power. His principal works are *Essai de Cateschisme Socialiste*; *Collectivisme et Revolution*; *Services Publics et Socialisme*. He married a daughter of Karl Marx.

JOHANNARD, Jules, born Baume, 1843. Founded in 1870 a section of the International in Fauberg St Denis. Was sentenced to several terms of imprisonment for belonging to a secret labor society; after the Commune he escaped to London, and became member of the General Council of the International.

LAFARGUE, Paul, born Cuba, 1840, of French parents; educated at Bordeaux; studied medicine at Paris. When 20 years of age he was excluded from all French universities for participating in demonstrations against the 2d Empire, and completed his medical education in London; was delegated by the Commune to southwestern France to raise the revolutionary spirit of those districts; he met with no success. After the Commune Lafargue fled to Spain, where he became a leader in the Social Democratic movement. After his return to Paris he edited *Equality* and *The Citizen*, and wrote many valuable works—*The Evolution of Property*, *Economic Materialism*, *Religion of Capital*, etc.; a constant contributor to Socialist papers, and an untiring exponent of the Marxian school in France. He married a daughter of Karl Marx.

LONGUET, Charles, born 1837 at Caen. Was a student of jurisprudence at Paris; took his degree in 1864. Edited the *Journal Officiel* during the Commune; escaped to England; returned to Paris in 1880; became one of the editors of *Justice*. Feb. 7, 1886, was elected member of Paris Municipal Council. He was a son in law of Karl Marx.

THEISZ, Frederic Felix, born Paris, 1839; joined International in 1867. After the dissolution of the International, he founded the "Federation des Chambres Ouvr.eres" and in it he represented the bronze workers. In 1868 he took part in the Brussels Congress. In 1870 he was condemned to three months' imprisonment for participating in the International. He spoke during his trial in his own defence and his speech on this occasion gave him a wide celebrity. After the fall of the Commune he remained in Paris until July 29, then escaped to London, where he eked out an existence by hand labor. Returned to Paris in 1880, and was an active worker on many Socialist papers. Died January 10, 1881.

VAILLANT, Marie Edouard, born Jan. 26, 1840, at Vierzon; educated at Paris, studied medicine at Heidelberg, Tuebingen and Vienna; also a student of philosophy and economics; was a member of the International; entered National Guard in Paris in 1870, and with Frankel promulgated the tenets of the International; escaped to London after the Communes' fall; very active in work of the International. Returned to Paris in 1880; member of Paris Municipal Council in 1884; has been member Chamber of Deputies, where he upheld the Marxian Collectivist principles.

Paris, 1896.

"The national assembly of 1871, after the downfall of the empire, gave back to Paris its elective council, but stopped there, promising that further concessions to the principles of self-government should be made at some subsequent time. Since then the suffrage, which was virtually universal, has been made entirely so. But Paris is still actively governed, as under Louis Napoleon, by the prefect of the Seine and his colleague, the prefect of police, both of whom are appointed by the general government and are amenable directly to the Minister of the Interior. In the smaller communes of France the police power is now confided to the municipal authorities, and is exercised actively by the mayors. In the larger ones a purely domestic police authority is exercised by the municipal officers, while a general control of police is vested in the prefect and his sub-prefects. But Paris is deemed too vast for the union of ordinary business administration and police administration in the hands of the one prefect of the department, and the police authority, covering a wider range of functions than the simple organization of the police force and the management of the police courts and station-houses, is put in the hands of a separate chief, the prefect of police. Paris has now for many years been sub-divided into 20 arrondissements, and in each of them there is a central building called the 'mairie,' in which is the bureau of an officer called the 'maire' (mayor). He is assisted by three adjuncts. These men, who are appointed officers of the general government, and are, in fact, simply the agents or delegates of the prefect of the Seine, with a staff of clerks and assistants attend to a vast amount of routine business for the higher authorities and for the city, so far as the population of their several arrondissements is concerned. They record births, deaths, and weddings, and perform the civil ceremony of marriage. They receive taxes, have to do with matters of elementary education; administer the poor laws in their respective districts,—enroll under the army-service acts those liable to military duty, and perform various other routine functions. These 20 Parisian centers of local administration are admirably organized and conducted, and under any scheme whatsoever of a reconstructed municipal government they would be allowed to remain. The municipal council consists of 80 members, four from each of the 20 arrondissements. Each arrondissement is sub-divided into four quarters, and each quarter elects a municipal councilor. They are elected for three years, and all retire together. The municipal council of Paris, plus a few representatives of the outlying communes of the department of the Seine, constitutes the council-general of the department. These communes outside the fortifications of Paris have their elective councils and distinct municipal organizations, but all come under the common executive control of the two prefects. The situation of the council is certainly humiliating and unsatisfactory. It is dominated by the prefect, who has the right to attend its sessions and to take the floor whenever he pleases, and who is absolutely unaccountable to it for his management of the city's business. It must not be supposed that all elements in Paris are clamorous for a larger degree of municipal autonomy. The educated and propertied classes, as a rule, prefer that the general government should keep its strong hand upon Parisian administration. They are somewhat distrustful of the municipal council, which they regard as radical and socialistic in its tendencies. Paris will never have the government which is best for all its people until it entrusts itself to the people."—*Albert Shaw.*

ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

A

Adam, 38, 77.
 Allard, 156.
 Allix, 38.
 Amouroux, 38, 134.
 Ancelot, 31.
 Andrieu, 67, 74, 106.
 Appertz, 229.
 Arago, 7, 10.
 Arnaud, Ant., 38, 86,
 97, 138.
 Arnold, G., 67, 73.
 Arnould, Arthur, 38,
 224.
 Assi, 23, 38, 50, sketch
 of 134.
 Aumale, duc d', 53.
 Avoine, Jr., 41.
 Avrial, 38, 41, 73, 99,
 224.

B

Babick, 23, 38, 41.
 Barre, 38.
 Barroud, 24.
 Bax, 160.
 Bazaine, 99.
 Beaufort, Comte de,
 154.
 Bergeret, 32, 38, 41,
 46, 50, 55, 56, 73, 91,
 105, 109, 122, 145.
 Beslay, 38, 80, 100, 106,
 205, 206.
 Besson, 54.
 Billioray, 23, 38, 97,
 112, 128, 138, 148,
 178.
 Bismarck, 9, 14, 42, 79,
 194, 195, 229.
 Blanc, 29, 33.
 Blanchet, 24, 38.
 Blanqui, 10, 17, 37, 159,
 160, 219.
 Boir, 169.
 Bonaparte, P., 174.
 Bonjean, 29, 156, 157.
 Bonne, 26.
 Bonvalet, 77.

Boulanger, 137.
 Bourgoïn, 53.
 Boursier, 23.
 Brelay, 38.
 Bridges, 204.
 Brioncel, 144.
 Briosne, 67.
 Brome, 112, 152.
 Brunel, 15, 38, 142, 143,
 148, 178, 199, 224.

C

Camelinet, 207.
 Canrobert, 25.
 Champy, 38, 224.
 Chanzy, 35.
 Chalain, 38.
 Charrette, 44.
 Chauvay, 11, 63, 146,
 147.
 Cheron, 38.
 Cisse, 66, 122, 127, 166.
 Clemence, 38.
 Clement, Victor, 38.
 Clement, J. B., 38, 224.
 Clement, E., 38.
 Clement-Thomas, 20,
 21, 23, 141, 186, 187.
 Clercq, 156.
 Clinchant, 176.
 Cluseret, 8, 13, 41, 44,
 50, 53, 55, 56, 60, 63,
 67, 68, 73, 74, 76,
 sketch of 82, 88, 128,
 140, 154, 187, 205, 224.
 Cochet, 31.
 Coke, 71.
 Comte, 62.
 Courbet, 62, sketch of
 208.
 Cournet, 38, 74, 103,
 105, 208.
 Cypriani, 47.
 Cusco, 144.

D

Dacosta, 56, 57, 208.
 Darbois, 51, 56, 57, 87,
 139, 153, 156, sketch
 of 158, 59, 130.

Davoust, 69.
 De Bouteiller, 38.
 Decoudray, 156.
 De Flo, 227.
 Deguerry, 51, 56, 156,
 159.
 De Larey, 227.
 Delescluze, 8, 10, 13,
 37, 38, 51, 69, 73, 97,
 114, 125, 128, 129,
 133, 139, 154, 167, 168,
 sketch of 175, 177,
 205.

Demarest, 47.
 Demay, 38.
 Denis, 69.
 Dereure, 38, 67, 101,
 148.
 Descamps, 38.
 Desmeret, 38.
 Dombrowski, Ladis-
 las, 55, 69, 73, 76, 91,
 96, 101, 122, 131-33,
 138, 143, 167-68.
 Dombrowski, Javos-
 lau, 63, 122, 168.
 Douai, 126, 127.
 Dubail, 27.
 Du Barial, 66.
 Ducatel, 126, 136, 137,
 219.
 Dufaure, 227.
 Dufil, 187.
 Durand, 67.
 Durassier, 100.
 Dupont, A., 67.
 Dupont, C., 23, 38.
 Duval, 18, 38, 41, 46,
 122.

E

Epilly, Madeline, 146.
 Eudes, 8, 18, 38, 41, 46,
 50, 55, 65, 91, 96, 188.

F

Fabre, 24.
 Fabrice, 76, 116.
 Favre, 7, 11, 14, 100,
 179, sketch of 227.

Fenouillat, 63. --
 Ferrat, 23.
 Ferre, 38, 74, 103, 120,
 151, 154, 156, 170,
 172, 180, 185, 208.
 Ferry, E., 38.
 Ferry, J., 10, 25.
 Fetridge, 210.
 Flourens, G., 8, 10, 17,
 37, 38, 47, sketch
 of 48, 49.
 Flourens, P., 48.
 Fontaine, 154.
 Forbes, 130, 218.
 Fortune, 38.
 Frankel, 38, 74, 106,
 207.
 Francois, 31.
 Francois, (prison gov-
 ernor) 139, 170,
 173, 180.
 Fremont, 82.
 Fruneau, 38.

G

Gaillard, 82.
 Galbain, 143.
 Gallifet, 49, 196, 199
 Gambetta, 7, 9, 12, 13,
 99.
 Gambon, 13, 37, 38, 97,
 138, 139, 175, 185.
 Garcin, 166, 172.
 Garibaldi, G., 18, 35,
 50.
 Garibaldi, M., 67.
 Garreau, 170.
 Genton, 156, 172.
 Gerardin, C., 38, 86,
 96, 98, 99.
 Gerardin, E., 38.
 Geresme, 24, 38, 41,
 105.
 Gastneau, 206.
 Gois, 170.
 Goupil, 38.
 Grollard, 24.
 Grusset, 8, 17, 26, 38.
 74, 106, sketch of
 116-17, 125, 207.
 Guizot, 202.
 Gushier, 23.

H

Haskell, 216.
 Helegion, 27.

Henrion, 156.
 Henry, 18, 41.
 Herisson, 184.
 Hottinguer, 31.
 Hugo, 229.
 Humbert, 17.

J

Jecker, 61, 172.
 Johannard, 67, 101.
 Jourde, 23, 28, 38, 74,
 86, 106, 205, 206.

K

Koch, 136.

L

Laborde, 31.
 La Cecilia 91, 101, 140.
 Lacorde, 185.
 Ladrimalt, 66, 122,
 127.
 Lafitte, 226.
 Lamazou, 40, 208.
 Lambrecht, 227.
 Langevin, 38.
 Langlois, 24.
 Langourian, 35.
 Lasnier, 103.
 Lavalette, 23.
 Leballeur, 208.
 Lecomte, 19-22, 25,
 141, 186, 187.
 Ledroyt, 38, 105.
 Lefever, 38.
 Le Flo, 78, 227.
 Lefrancais, 36, 38, 224.
 Legat, 31.
 Le Gros, Mme., 103.
 Leighton, 216.
 Le Moussu, 59, 100, 112.
 Leroux, 66.
 Leroy, 38.
 Libmann, 154.
 Lincoln, 82.
 Lisbonne, 151, 178.
 Lissagaray, 132, 216.
 Loiseau-Pinson, 38,
 77.
 Lolive, 157, 158.
 Lonclas, 67, 105.
 Longuet, 67, 224.
 Louis XVI, 91, 154.
 Lullier, 18, 24, 29, 35,
 50, 205.

M

Malet, 204.
 Maljournal, 31, 41.
 Malleville, Leon de,
 103.
 Malou, 13, 38.
 Marie Antoinette, 154.
 Marmotton, 38.
 Martelet, 28.
 McMahan, 25, 66, 110,
 198, 228, 229.
 Megy, 8, 8', 88, 123,
 136, 157, 219, 229.
 Meillet, 38, 80, 224.
 Meline, 38.
 Meyer, 108-9.
 Michel, Louise, sketch
 of 57.
 Milliere, 29, 83, 148, 166.
 Minck, Faule, 57.
 Miot, 38, 86, 109, 111,
 123, 187.
 Moillin, 29, 184.
 Molinet, Vis. de, 31.
 Moreau, 15, 23, 28, 178.
 Mortier, 23, 112, 209.
 Muller, 120.
 Murat, 38.

N

Napoleon I, 43, 62, 69,
 93, 107.
 Napoleon III, 1, 3, 7,
 20, 34, 62, 116, 160.
 Nast, 38.
 Nathan, 31.
 Noir, 2, 116.

O

Okolowitz, 122, 213.
 Ostyn, 38, 224.
 Oudet, 38, 171.

P

Paladines, 23, 26.
 Parent, H., 171.
 Parent, U., 38.
 Parisel, 38, 61.
 Pasquier, 44.
 Pathuau, 227.
 Patural, 155.

Pexhot, 54.
 Philippe, 67, 230.
 Philippe, Louis, 226.
 Piat, 184.
 Piazza, 11, 15.
 Picard, 62, 228.
 Pillot, 67.
 Pilotell, 112, 208.
 Pindy, 38, 148.
 Pius IX, 158.
 Pixley, 211, 229.
 Plato, 122.
 Ploez, Marquis de, 205.
 Poiret, 180.
 Pottier, 67.
 Pougerot, 24.
 Pouyer-Quertier, 100, 228.
 Protot, 38, 74, 207, 224.
 Proudhon, 147.
 Prudhomme, 129, 135.
 Pyat, Felix, 13, 17, 34, 37, 38, 73, 74, 86, 89, 96, 136.
 Puget, 38.

Q

Quinet, 134.

R

Ranc, 38, 40.
 Ragowski, 168.
 Rampon, 207.
 Raleigh, 71.
 Ranvier, A., 148, 184.
 Ranvier, G., 38, 73, 86, 97, 109, 138, 139, 156, 157, 170, 180, 184.
 Rastoul, 38.
 Razoua, 136.
 Read, 204.
 Reclus, 51, 206.
 Regere, 38.
 Reyer, 31.
 Riel, 208.
 Rigault, 8, 29, 38, 43, 56, 57, 74, 88, 102, 120, 147, 151, 152, 208.

Robinet, 38.
 Rochefort, 8, 13, 17, 43, 50, 64, 101, sketch of 118-19.
 Rogear, 67.
 Rossel, 46, 68, 73, 86, 88, 95, 97 sketch of 98-99, 101, 160, 198, 255.
 Rothe, 173.
 Roullic, 153.
 Rousseau, 24.

S

Saisset, 26, 27, 28, 32.
 Saxony, Crown Prince of, 76.
 Scheffer, 78.
 Segoyer, Marquis de, 173.
 Serailler, 67.
 Serat, 181.
 Serizier, 112, 153, 168, 169.
 Sheridan, 30.
 Sicard, 67, 105.
 Simon, 117.
 Smith, 102.
 Stanton, 82.
 Stupuy, 77.
 Sulla, 190, 226.
 Sumner, 82.

T

Tamisier, 21.
 Tancred, 175.
 Terifocq, 80.
 Thiers, 7, 13, 14, 15, 18, 24, 25, 26, 29, 41, 61, 76, 81, 88, 89, 100, 102, 112, 117, 123, 164, 189, 194, sketch of 225-26, 227, 228.
 Thiesz, 38, 106, 207.
 Tirard, 27, 38.
 Tolain, 13, 78.

Train, 31.
 Trammell, 175, sketch of 220.
 Treilhard, 179, 207.
 Tridon, 13, 38, 73.
 Trinquet, 67, 74, 173.
 Trochu, 7, 9, 21, 35, 130.

U

Urbain, 38, 105.

V

Vaillant, 38, 74, 178, letter from 224.
 Valles, 17, 36, 38.
 Valliot, 139.
 Van Pape, 69.
 Varlin, 13, 23, 28, 38, 106, 171, 186, sketch of 187, 205.
 Verdure, 38.
 Verig, 139, 157, 173, 184.
 Vermesch, 17.
 Vermorel, 8, 15, 38, 74, 111, 142, 167, sketch of 176-77.
 Vesenier, 13, 67, 95, 102, 148, 179.
 Veysset, 119, 154.
 Viard, 67, 74, 206.
 Vinoy, 10, 14, 15, 24, 25, 44, 45, 66, 127, 137.
 Vitroley, 26.
 Von Moltke, 194.

W

Wahlin, 31.
 Washburne, 87, 116, 146, 153, 159, 167, 205, 210, 229.
 Wroblewski, 89, 91, 101, 122, 168, 180.

CONTENTS.

Introduction	iii-vii
I.	
France and The Second Empire	1-5
II.	
Paris--September 20 to March 1	6-15
III.	
March, Montmartre and the Commune	16-41
IV.	
War--The Events of April	42-85
V.	
May 1-20--The Fall of the Forts	86-125
VI.	
May 21-27--The Bloody Week 126-183; The Last Days of May 184-193	126-193
VII.	
The Peace of June	194-199
VIII.	
The Communes' Administration	200-210
IX.	
Miscellaneous Comment -- Pixley 211-214; <i>Truth</i> 214-215; Haskell 215-216; Archibald Forbes 217-218; Trammell 218; Megy 219; <i>Atlanta</i> <i>Constitution</i> 220; Washburne 220; Spirit of Internationalism 221; Members 222; Prom- inent Characters 223; Vaillant 224	211-224
X.	
Enemies of the Commune 225-229; Communist Arms and Occupations 229; Arrests, Pun- ishments, etc. 230-231	225-231
Sources of Information	232

APPENDIX.

Biographical Sketches--Amouroux, Avrial, Bes- Blanqui, Chalain 233; Clement, Cluseret, C net, Dereure, Dupont, Eudes, Frankel Guesde, Johannard, Lafargue, Long et, Thiesz, Vaillant 235	233-235
Paris, 1896	236
ALPHABETICAL INDEX	237-239







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